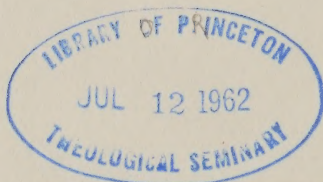


JONATHAN EVANS

AND HIS TIME, 1759-1839

WILLIAM BACON EVANS

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Jonathan Evans and his time
1759-1839

JONATHAN EVANS AND HIS TIME

1759 — 1839



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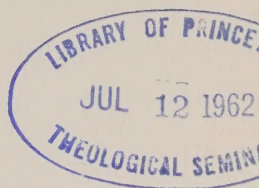


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JONATHAN EVANS
AND HIS TIME

1759-1839

BI-CENTENNIAL BIOGRAPHY



By

✓
WILLIAM BACON EVANS



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DEDICATED
TO THE
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,
CALLED QUAKERS.

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FOREWORD

A number of Friends Journals cover that stormy period of Quaker history in the early nineteenth century which led up to the separation of 1827, but Jonathan Evans, one of the most important participants in those tragic events, did not write a Journal. It is accordingly appropriate that his biography should be written and it is especially appropriate that it has been written by one of his descendants who, because of his beliefs and his way of life, is in a position to enter into the experience of his ancestor, if not always with approval, at least with understanding. But this book is not simply a biography of Jonathan Evans. The author skillfully weaves into his text interesting items related to Quaker history and to the contemporaneous scene in the world at large.

Jonathan Evans has puzzled Quaker historians who acknowledge his great weight and influence but are able to say very little about him. He was a man of few words whose influence was exerted mainly through the power of his character and personality, qualities which an historian finds it difficult to delineate. He is depicted as a stern upholder of orthodoxy, but Friends are not generally aware that he set himself against the evangelical doctrines of Joseph John Gurney as uncompromisingly as he opposed the liberal doctrines of Elias Hicks. He occupied a middle position between the two extremes, in general agreement with what later became known as the Wilburite group of

Yearly Meetings. As the so-called "Hicksites" emphasized the saving power of the Inward Light and the so-called "Gurneyites" emphasized the saving power of belief in the atoning sacrifice of the Christ of history, the Wilburites held that the historical events and the inward transforming power of the Spirit were both essential. The typical Wilburite sermon is not an appeal for belief, which by itself might have little value, but rather for obedience to the inward admonitions of the Divine Spirit which alone can create a "new creature". Belief, while important, is in the background. In their synthesis of outward and inward, with emphasis on the inward as that with which man is immediately concerned, the Wilburites were the closest of the three groups to the faith and practice of primitive Quakerism.

But in the early nineteenth century the party holding the intermediate position differed from primitive Quakerism in one important respect. Spiritual life was at a low ebb not only in the Society of Friends, but in Christianity in general. As Jonathan Evans wrote to Elias Hicks (p. 46) "It seems a very low time among us as to the life of religion . . . in this day wherein much lukewarmness and indifferency abounds." If spiritual life had been at a higher level with less emphasis on doctrine and more on the uniting power of the Spirit, the Separation might have been avoided.

Alexander Wilson enunciated an important Quaker principle when he said during the height of the controversy that "God never forced him to do right, but rather drew him by His love. He therefore counseled Friends not to attempt to coerce people, however erroneous their principles, but to draw them by that love which tolerates all." (p. 96).

After a century and a quarter we are now able to examine the causes of the separation of 1827 without the divisive and bitter feelings which accompanied it. That this approach is possible to an historian who at the same time does not surrender his own personal opinions, is demonstrated in this book as well as in the recent and able biography of Elias Hicks by Bliss Forbush. Light on the Separation is welcome from whatever angle it may come. This book by William Bacon Evans contributes important additions to our knowledge of Quaker history. The detailed account of the Yearly Meeting of 1827 by Thomas Evans which is inserted in the text is particularly informing though written from a partisan point of view.

To a student of religious history controversies are often more interesting than periods of peaceful co-existence. They illustrate the attitudes of persons of differing temperaments and backgrounds. To say this is not to maintain that truth is relative to individual opinion. There is only one Eternal Truth, but it is often seen "through a glass darkly" before it is beheld "face to face".

HOWARD H. BRINTON

Jonathan Evans and His Time

1759-1839

INTRODUCTION

The eighty years covering the lifetime of Jonathan Evans witnessed profound changes in the ideas, habits and loyalties of his contemporaries. Two political revolutions — that of America in 1776, and of France in 1789 — were symptomatic of the period. Though Canada remained loyal to Britain, the other English Colonies in the New World threw off the British yoke. France, having freed herself from the rule of the aristocracy, plunged into a sea of domestic and foreign conflicts, from which she emerged chastened but defiant. Independence was in the air.

At the same time, the Industrial Revolution was gradually transforming the lives of most people. Machinery, steam and water-power transferred production from home to factory. Canals were constructed. Railway cars began to replace stagecoaches. New lands, rich in natural resources, were being opened beyond the Allegheny Mountains, and a constant stream of emigrants from Europe and from the eastern seaboard moved westward.

No less sweeping were the shifts in thought, particularly in theology and philosophy. The older conception of God as a kind of Jupiter, with long, white beard and flaming thunderbolts, began to disappear. Discoveries

in chemistry, electricity and physics exalted natural philosophy or science, as it was soon to be called, to a new importance. In the trail of these developments older ideas collapsed. New doors were flung open, and men's minds followed a variety of paths. Some tended to liberalism, others to deism, pantheism, agnosticism or atheism. Morality declined.

To combat the sagging and lowering of values, prophetic voices were heard. Bishop Joseph Butler in his *Analogy** had exposed fallacies of deism. Immanuel Kant had helped to lead men back to a belief in the supernatural. John Wesley and George Whitefield launched their evangelistic crusade, preaching practical righteousness, holiness, future rewards and punishments, and the plenary inspiration of the Bible.

In a narrower sphere the Quaker preachers, among them Samuel Fothergill, Job Scott and John Woolman, preached the Christian gospel, stressing the Holy Spirit or Inward Light, as well as the redemption wrought by Jesus Christ upon the cross.

The Society of Friends could not and did not escape the impact of these influences. Some Friends, especially in the cities, had become rich and lax. Many forsook their simple Quaker faith, and joined the Anglican Church. Others, subjecting every religious belief to the test of reason, inclined to rationalism. Still others, judging that one faith is as good as another, became extreme liberals. Others again, attracted by the success of evangelical preachers, adopted their methods and undertook preaching missions, not unlike those of the Methodists. Lastly there were some — and these

* The *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Course and Constitution of Nature.*

were scarcely distinguishable from real Quakers—who proclaimed the Inward Light only, with scant reference to the Christ of history. In contrast to these there were others who preached the Christ of history, but ignored the Inward Light. In this maelstrom lived Jonathan Evans.

The following narration includes some material which has never before found its way into print. Included is a typical account of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Philadelphia in 1827, the last gathering before the separation. It reports the gist of what was said by each of the principal speakers. It also includes a significant part of a letter of Elias Hicks to William Poole of Wilmington, Delaware. This portion, referring to *Extracts from the Writings of the Primitive Friends*, was omitted from the published letters of Elias Hicks. Included also is a seldom read letter of Joseph John Gurney, in which he gives his reasons for not replying to John Wilbur, his active opponent.

It would perhaps be more agreeable to follow the history of a religious group in its youthful, formative and dynamic period, than to trace its course when it has fallen into a quagmire. But a wilting state, as well as the flowering period of a Society, is part of its history. Neither should be passed over or ignored, since out of the past we gain insight for the future. These considerations are offered to those who ask: "Why probe old sores which are in the process of healing? Why uncover past unpleasantness?" Happily we are at such a distance from these sad occurrences that we shall find it possible to judge them more impartially and dispassionately than even our parents could have done. It is in this spirit that the following biography

is undertaken, with the accompanying certainty that Truth will prosper and in the end prevail.

Grateful acknowledgment is here made to Anna B. Hewitt and to Thomas E. Drake, of the Treasure Room, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania; to Dorothy G. Harris, of Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania; to Muriel E. Hicks, of Friends' Library, Friends House, London, England; and especially to Howard H. and Anna Brinton, of Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA EVOLVING

The virgin settlement in William Penn's province of Pennsylvania did not long continue to be a thoroughbred Quaker colony. The transformation followed naturally from Penn's liberal plan of settlement. In contrast to the policy of the Boston Puritans, who rigorously excluded from their franchise all who were not of their faith, Penn from the start encouraged the colonization of those whose beliefs were different from his own. Pennsylvania was not to be a garden enclosed. It was to serve as refuge for persecuted minorities of whatever origin or creed. Consequently the several sorts of Protestants, as well as Roman Catholics and Jews were welcomed. In addition to settlers of English origin came Welsh, Scotch, Irish, German and French immigrants, with a scattering of other groups. They all mingled with Swedes and Dutch, who had settled before Penn's arrival. Indians and Negroes helped to round out the picture. It is probable that by 1750 Quakers did not number more than two-fifths of the entire population.

In the political sphere Friends had a flying start. They continued in office even after they had become a minority. But all the deputy governors selected by William Penn, with the exception of Thomas Lloyd, were non-Quakers. Penn had felt this course necessary to conciliate the King and his ministers, who were in no way partial to Friends, and who demanded defence measures, to which the Quakers objected. The patriarchal days during which Thomas Lloyd used to visit

drinking houses to encourage those assembled to "disperse timely", were soon outlived. The Town Council ceased to have a Quaker majority. Moreover, the sons and grandsons of the Proprietor inclined to attend, or actually became members of, the Established Church. Nor did they inherit Penn's liberal and altruistic policy. In the Pennsylvania Assembly, a Quaker majority continued for some time, but this, too, gave way under pressure for military preparedness.

Prior to 1739 England had been at peace for many years. During this period Philadelphia grew and prospered. Commerce expanded. But in 1739, King George II declared war upon Spain; in 1744, war flared up with France. At home the Indians, estranged by the iniquitous Walking Purchase of 1737, became restless, and were emboldened by disastrous defeat of General Braddock's forces in 1755. For fifteen years the frontiers of Pennsylvania, settled mostly by Scotch-Irish and Germans, were subject to attack. Houses were burned, men and women brutally scalped. Commerce was crippled and terror spread far and wide. French and Spanish ships of war haunted the lower Delaware, and often captured prizes.

The Assembly dominated by Quakers was constantly being urged to vote money for defence, but for a long time it temporized. Friends inherited a policy of peace with the Indians, and they were morally opposed to war. They compromised by voting money for the queen's use. Then they made a grant of £4000 for supplies or "other grain". This wording was taken to mean gunpowder. With the outbreak of actual fighting the situation of Friends became more and more difficult. It was finally decided, upon the advice of English Friends, to withdraw voluntarily from the Assembly.

In 1756, this was generally complied with, two Friends only, Isaac Norris, Jr., and George Ashbridge, remained. In 1758, General Forbes took Fort Duquesne (later Pittsburgh). In 1759 at the very moment of his victory on the heights of Abraham in Quebec, General Wolfe was killed. The following year Montreal surrendered to General Amherst and French political prestige in Canada was doomed.

It was in 1759 on the 25th of First Month, between three and four o'clock in the morning that Jonathan Evans was born.

A GREEN COUNTRY TOWN

In 1759 Philadelphia was still a small city of less than 3000 houses. The seventy-seven years since its founding in 1682 had not removed it from the original site. Along Front, Second, Third, and Dock Streets and their intersecting streets, the homes of the principal residents were still clustered. Streets had been surveyed to the west, but these were generally unpaved, and when not frozen, were often muddy. Early in the morning a cow-herd would blow his horn near Second and Dock Streets, a signal for owners to bring their cows to be driven to pasture in the country. In the spring of the year shad were abundant in the Delaware, and the arc of the leaping sturgeon was a familiar sight. At times flocks of Passenger Pigeons darkened the sky.

The city had witnessed not only material growth, but other important developments. In 1752 the Gregorian calendar was adopted, and in the same year Benjamin Franklin experimented with his kites. The Pennsylvania Hospital had already been founded, and inoculation was practiced against small pox. Thomas

Jefferson came to Philadelphia to undergo that treatment in 1760.

The Friends of the early colonial period had generally passed from the scene. David Lloyd, able champion and defender of democracy and of popular rights, died in 1731; John Kinsey, chief justice of the Supreme Court, and clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, died in 1750; James Logan, loyal supporter of the Penn family, classical scholar and friend of the Indians, in 1751.

Prominent Friends at the time Jonathan Evans was born were the Pemberton brothers — James, Israel and John — Anthony Benezet, John Woolman, John Churchman, Abel James, Henry Drinker, Daniel Stanton, David Bacon, Owen Jones, Mordecai Yarnall, John Parrish, Samuel Stanton and John Scarborough. They were responsible for meeting affairs. The importing, purchasing and selling of slaves was prohibited to Friends, and liberation advised, in 1755. In the wake of the Indian wars the Meeting for Sufferings had been established for the care of Friends and others in need. In the same year, 1756, The Friendly Association for gaining and keeping the friendship of the Indians began its important service.

Friends were increasing in number, and since the troubles fomented by George Keith near the end of the previous century, no internal difficulty had disturbed their harmony. Monthly Meeting minutes indicate that there were moral lapses, but in general Friends' lives moved on smoothly and evenly.

In education, Pennsylvania lagged behind Massachusetts, where Harvard College, founded in 1636, primarily for the training of ministers, gave New England the intellectual leadership. William Penn had in-

deed given support to a school system, but except for the well-to-do, the three R's were held to be sufficient. Robert Proud, a good classical scholar, became master of Friends' Academy on South Fourth Street, in 1760. It is said he could think more clearly in Latin than in English.

In general, Friends had ceased to be fervent evangelists. They were content to be a separated people, with small hope of converting the world to their view of the Gospel. The problems of conquering the wilderness, and of providing for themselves and their families, determined in large part their activities.

WELSH ORIGIN OF THE EVANS FAMILY

THOMAS AP EVAN (1651-1738)

Early in the year 1697, a Quaker preacher, Hugh Roberts, who had lived some years in Pennsylvania, returned to his native Wales. He pictured to his countrymen the advantages offered by settlement in the new world. The soil yielded abundantly, game and fish were plentiful, the climate was sunny and healthful. The Indians had proved themselves friendly. In the area known as the Welsh Barony, Welsh was to be the language of schools and court. Above all, freedom of conscience was guaranteed by the Proprietor's charter. An escape was thus possible from the persecutions and abuses suffered in Britain.

People in Wales flocked to hear the Welsh preacher from Pennsylvania. Among those who resolved to cross the ocean with their families were William ap John, and Thomas ap Evan, or as he became known, Thomas Evans, son of Evan ap Evan, of Vron Goch farm in Merionethshire. It was thought best that these two men should precede the main group of emigrants, to locate a place of settlement, to purchase land and start crops upon which they and their families could subsist. Accordingly the two pioneers sailed in 1697, and arrived in Philadelphia. It was found that Robert Turner, an Irish Friend, had land for sale. A bargain was struck and the title for a tract, named Gwynedd, passed to William ap John and Thomas ap Evan early in 1698. The price paid was £508, currency of Pennsylvania, that is £6, 10s for each 100 acres.

Later in that same year, the ship "Robert and Elizabeth", commanded by Ralph Williams, set sail from Liverpool, England, having aboard perhaps 140 or 150 emigrants, including the wife and children of Thomas ap Evan. The vessel called at Dublin, and then set out across the Atlantic. The voyage proved to be a tragic one. A grave form of dysentery or bloody flux appeared. No less than forty-five of the passengers and three of the seamen died. On the 17th of the Seventh Month, 1698, the one hundred survivors landed at Philadelphia. None of the Evans family had perished.

The share of land allotted to Thomas Evans was supposed to contain 700 acres, but, as it proved to contain 1049 acres, an additional payment was made to Robert Turner. Eventually a dwelling of barked logs was constructed, and here (it is said) William Penn was once entertained.

Most of the new settlers belonged to the Church of England. As they had no rector, it was their practice to resort to the home of Robert Evans, a younger brother of Thomas Evans, where another brother, Christopher Evans, read from the Welsh Bible, or the Book of Common Prayer. Two of the settlers belonged to the Society of Friends. They were John Hugh (or Hughes) and John Humphrey.

Tradition says that one day as Christopher Evans was on his way to the home of his brother, Robert Evans, it came into his mind, "Go down to the Quaker Meeting and see how they do." At the close of their Anglican "service" Christopher mentioned this to the others. They went and were so well satisfied that they all joined the Society of Friends. A meeting house was built in 1700, and a second, larger building in 1712.

Eventually Thomas Evans divided his land among his four sons. His first wife having died in 1716, he took a second wife in 1722, Ann Davis. They lived at Goshen, Pennsylvania, where he died at about the age of eighty-eight.

EVAN EVANS (1684-1747)

Evan Evans, the third son of Thomas, was about fourteen years old when the family migrated to Pennsylvania. He inherited about 250 acres of his father's estate, this remained his home as long as he lived. In 1713, he married Elizabeth Musgrave, by whom he had five sons and one daughter, in addition to three other children who died in infancy. He was a minister in the Society of Friends and travelled widely on the American Continent, often in company with his beloved cousin John Evans. It is probable that both could preach either in Welsh or English. Evan Evans was taken ill while travelling, and died at Gwynedd, aged about sixty-three years. A memorial of him is preserved, in which he is spoken of as a highly esteemed Friend and a gifted minister.

JONATHAN EVANS (1714-1795)

Jonathan Evans, the eldest son of Evan Evans, was born at Gwynedd. As families increased, they naturally tended to scatter, so it was that in 1734, at the age of twenty, he moved his certificate of membership from Gwynedd to the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia. Here he was engaged in importing West India produce, sugar, molasses, rum and other products. At a Friends' Meeting in 1740, he married Hannah Walton, daughter of Michael Walton, who kept a public house. Fifty-five years of married life were to

be theirs. They occupied a property on the east side of South Second Street, a lot which extended through to Dock Creek where vessels could load and discharge their cargoes.

In addition to his importing business, Jonathan Evans took a modest part in public affairs. In an advertisement dated 14th of Fifth Month, 1747, it was announced that he had taken office as meat inspector (for export), and all persons concerned were notified to observe the inspection required by law. For twenty years (1765-1785) he was a director in the Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire, a company founded by Benjamin Franklin. A leathern bucket, inscribed with his initials, J. E., has come down in the family.

Six sons and two daughters were born to him, of whom one son and one daughter died early. Jonathan and Hannah Evans kept two slaves, Caesar and Celia (or Sela), Celia was said to be one of the best cooks in the city. The Evans family entertained freely, feasted the captains in the West India service, and lived well. They left some handsome furniture, silverware and china. It would seem that Jonathan Evans took his Quakerism rather lightly. Ministers' sons do not always follow strictly in the footsteps of their fathers. It is not known whether he attended meetings regularly or not. Certain it is that his meeting dealt with him for keeping slaves. Much laboring and long waiting resulted in his freeing them in 1779.

The importing business was profitable. In time, Jonathan Evans took his son Joel into partnership. Joel, a handsome man, settled in Jamaica, where he could look after purchases. They sold wine for Richard Penn, and in 1763 Jonathan Evans was one of the

Philadelphia merchants who signed the document welcoming John Penn as governor. It was the Evanses who sold the rum used in the launching of the war-vessel, "Constitution". But probably, the sympathies of Jonathan Evans were pro-British. One of his sons, William Evans, a ship-carpenter, enlisted in the British navy. Three of his sons had their estates confiscated by the Americans, and they were disowned by Friends for taking part in warlike measures. In 1777 when the British forces entered Philadelphia, Jonathan Evans' property was not disturbed, nor did the Americans plunder him on their return to the city. His escape may have been due to the fact that his brother David Evans had married a sister of David Rittenhouse, an influential member of the Committee of Public Safety.

Towards the end of his life Jonathan Evans moved into the Dock Street end of his property, where he died in 1795. His widow survived him about six years, living with her youngest son, Jonathan Evans, Jr., at 102 Union Street, now 322 Delancey Street.

JONATHAN EVANS JR. (1759-1839)

We have seen something of the well-to-do family into which Jonathan Evans Jr., the subject of the present biography, was born. Morality indeed prevailed, but the setting was not that from which one would expect a concerned Quaker to spring.

During the first year of his life, George the Third was proclaimed king of England. In the same year died the venerable and deformed Friend, Benjamin Lay, out-standing foe of African slavery. Boundary Lines between Maryland and Pennsylvania were surveyed in 1762 by Charles Mason and an English

Friend, Jeremiah Dixon, as far west as the Indians would allow them to go.

At the age of four, Jonathan must have heard with childish alarm of the approach of the Paxton boys, bent upon murdering the peaceable Indians, who had taken refuge in Philadelphia. Benjamin Franklin's diplomacy was successful in diverting the would-be murderers from their purpose. West of the Alleghenies the conspiracy of Pontiac flared up, and John Woolman made his perilous journey to Wyalusing on the Susquehanna.

Meanwhile misunderstanding and estrangement between England and her American Colonies increased with the passage of the Stamp Act, and although that act was repealed the following year, lasting bitterness and discontent remained.

About the year 1767, young Jonathan would be commencing his studies, probably at Friends' Academy, on Fourth Street, near Chestnut, where Robert Proud, classical scholar, and later historian, presided. His parents gave Jonathan Evans a liberal education at schools under the care of Friends in Philadelphia, and he attained considerable proficiency in most of the branches of learning, including some Latin.

At this period the strong evangelical movement which originated in England was gaining impetus in America. Methodists began to hold meetings in a sail-loft near Front and Dock Streets, and two years later (1767) George Whitefield came to America for the last time. Southern District Monthly Meeting on Society Hill, south of Pine Street, between Front and Second Streets, was established in 1771. This was Jonathan Evans' meeting as long as he lived. Prominent

Friends of this meeting included Nicholas Waln, Joshua Fisher, Samuel Rhoads, Jr., Joseph Bringhurst, Samuel Wetherill, David Evans, John Elliott, Anthony Morris, Samuel Fisher, Benjamin Sharpless, John Hallowell, John Reynell and John Morton.

Growing dissatisfaction with the taxes and trade restrictions imposed by Great Britain led to the holding of the first Continental Congress in 1774, in Carpenters' Hall, tea was thrown overboard in Boston harbor, and events drifted rapidly towards armed conflict.

About this time Jonathan Evans was apprenticed, probably to his uncle David Evans, to become a house builder, a calling which he followed for twenty-eight years. He was tall, handsome and athletic. His handwriting was bold and clear. Throughout his life he cultivated an acquaintance with English literature, and was very exact in speaking or writing the English language, keeping to the most approved pronunciation, with particular attention to the definite meaning of terms.

During his apprenticeship, he associated with a group of young men who used to pass their evenings in merriment, with little religious concern or restraint. He is described as a very gay young man. One day on looking into a chest in his father's attic, he came upon a book, *No Cross, No Crown*, by William Penn. Seeing the title was not to his liking, he laid the book aside, but the words "the Light of Christ" recurred again and again to his mind. So he later returned, took up the book and read it seriously.

This simple incident proved to be a turning point in his life. He could no longer join his jovial companions in their merrymaking. He simplified his dress and preferred to eat in the kitchen, rather than with

the wine-drinking sea-captains. His young friends, loath to lose his company, tried to persuade him to return to them. In particular a young anchor-smith, Daniel Offley was solicitous to win him back. Offley suggested that this seriousness was but a passing whim, which would soon vanish if only he would rejoin their company. But Jonathan Evans laid before his friend so convincingly the motives of his change, that Daniel Offley was impressed and decided to forsake the frivolous way. He persevered, and possessing a powerful voice, a natural endowment well suited to this service, he in time became a minister.

Meanwhile the Colonies, spurred on by the delegates from Massachusetts, drifted into open war. Owing to the blockade of Boston harbor, many people suffered severely, and Philadelphia Friends contributed to their relief. At this time windows in Quaker houses in Philadelphia were broken because their owners refused to join in the general illumination at the Declaration of Independence. A forged epistle, said to have been issued from a fictitious Yearly Meeting held at Spanktown, further prejudiced popular feeling against the Quakers. Twenty leading Friends were arrested and banished to Winchester, Virginia, where three of them died, due in part to the hardships they suffered. A year later the survivors were exonerated, and allowed to return to their homes at their own expense. Following the defeat of Washington's forces at the battle of the Brandywine, the British army entered Philadelphia. Provisions became scarce and high-priced. The British took many liberties with Friends' property, burning fences for fuel, seizing provisions, and quartering themselves wherever they pleased.

In the following year General Clinton, fearing that

the Delaware would be blockaded by the French fleet, decided to retreat from Philadelphia. He was pursued by General Washington across New Jersey. The Congress returned from Lancaster, where it had taken refuge, and the American forces proceeded to wreak vengeance upon British loyalists when and where they could be found. Two Friends, Abraham Carlisle and John Roberts, who had shown some co-operation with the British, were hanged in Philadelphia to satisfy public clamor.

About this time Jonathan Evans began a long period of service in Friends' meetings. He was appointed representative to Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, and was named to assist in publishing the life of John Griffith. He was made reader of marriage certificates, and served for eleven years as overseer of the School for Black People. A few years later he was appointed an Overseer at his Meeting at the age of twenty-three.

In 1777 certain Friends who sympathized deeply with the American claims for political liberty, and resented the tyranny of the British, so far compromised their Christian principles as to join in war measures. Desiring still to be considered Friends, they became known as Free Quakers. Among their number were Samuel Wetherill, Owen Biddle, Timothy Matlack and Betsy Ross. Their meeting house is still standing at Fifth and Arch Streets.

Jonathan Evans, Jr., being opposed to all war, declined military service. For refusal to join the militia on the American side, or to pay substitute money amounting to £1319, he was imprisoned on the 19th of Second Month, 1779, and placed in what was called "the Quaker Room" in the old jail at the south-west corner of Third and High, now Market, Streets, where

he joined Samuel R. Fisher and John Pritchard. His imprisonment lasted nearly four months. In 1780, his friend Daniel Offley was also imprisoned. Jonathan Evans wrote to encourage him, and busied himself in bringing Daniel Offley's case to the notice of the Meeting for Sufferings, and to his Monthly and Quarterly Meetings.

By 1781, Continental money had become practically worthless, but Pennsylvania currency had some value. After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and the close of the war, life in Philadelphia became normal though Friends suffered considerable loss, through damage to and distraint of, their real estate for refusal to illuminate their windows as a patriotic demonstration. The Free Quakers petitioned the Assembly for a share of the confiscated property, but this claim was never allowed.

In 1784 Jonathan Evans with Daniel Offley attended Virginia Yearly Meeting, which was held at Blackwater. In the same year Anthony Benezet died. His funeral was attended by a large concourse, including hundreds of Negroes whom he had befriended. At about this time a serious depression in business, caused in part by excessive importation of British goods, brought with it many business failures, but in spite of the hard times Jonathan Evans, now aged twenty-seven years, inclined to marry. The object of his choice was Hannah Bacon, daughter of David Bacon, a hatter of Philadelphia. Their intentions of marriage were laid before their meeting on the 24th of Second Month, 1786, Jonathan Evans, Senior, being personally present to give his consent. Jonathan Evans, Jr., set himself to build a house, which still stands at 102 Union Street, now 322 Delancey Street. While the house was in

process of building, the newly married couple lived on Union Street, east of Third, where their first son, William, was born in 1787. This was the year in which George Washington was elected President of the United States and moved to Philadelphia. Jonathan Evans, builder, was appointed to collect funds for the re-shingling of the Pine Street Meeting house, and also to solicit subscriptions for re-publishing Robert Barclay's "Apology for the true Christian Divinity" and the Life of Thomas Chalkley. While he was engaged in these efforts, news came of the revolution in France, with its triumphs and excesses.

George Churchman, son of John Churchman, began in 1790, with some initial advice from Benjamin Franklin who died in that year, to canvass for a Friends' boarding school, to be similar to Ackworth School in England, which had opened in 1779. Nine years later, land was purchased, a barn built, and 300,000 bricks baked, and within a year Westtown School was opened. Jonathan Evans took a warm interest in this project, and early served on its committee. His son William was one of the first twenty scholars. The "head master" was John Forsythe. The first Westtown report revealed a debt of £3459,15,0, with the need of £1000 more for furnishing. The charge for boys was £30 per year, and for girls 25,10,0. In 1801 the school's debt stood at £4684:15S, Friends still adhering to the old units of currency.

LETTERS OF JONATHAN EVANS TO HIS CHILDREN

Two letters written in 1800 show that the new school gave parents cause for anxiety not only on the financial side but on the disciplinary side as well. Jonathan Evans writes as follows to his two boys:

Philadelphia, 19th of Second Mo., 1800

My Dear Children: —

I have been much concerned on your account for some time past, understanding several of the boys have given a great deal of trouble to those who had the care of them; and though I could scarcely think either of you were of the number, yet not hearing anything particular, my mind was made very uneasy, but I hope better things of you. And if at anytime you feel any disquietude of mind, be patient and endeavour to bear your trials in meekness, looking with reverent confidence to your great Creator, who compassionately regards every sigh and tear of the sincere heart; whether they be children or more advanced in years. But then we must at all times strive to conduct so as not to grieve his Holy Spirit in our hearts, which is a continual witness against every evil thought, word or action. Let your innocent, circumspect deportment be observed by all: join not with any in the least evil but let the fear of the Lord be

ever present with you, and that will keep you harmless, and make you dear unto Him, and to all good people.

Your mother joins with me in dear love to you both, desiring your welfare every way.

Your loving father,

Jona. Evans.

Philadelphia, 21st, of Ninth Mo., 1800

Dear Children: —

Feeling desirous at all times you may do well, I cannot but endeavor to revive in your remembrance the necessity of attending with all diligence, to the small, gentle intimations of the Holy Spirit of Truth in your own minds. Keep near to its blessed instructions at all times, and it will preserve in every season of trial and difficulty, and as an inexhaustible fountain, sustain your little minds when depressed with anxious thoughts or discouraging fears. This is the alone way to happiness here or blessedness hereafter. For in obedience to this light in our minds, we are brought to love the Lord, our most gracious Redeemer above all, and by Him are regarded as his children, which is a treasure indeed, that raises the spirit above earthly pleasures, to a sense of immortal bliss.

Here, in this state the fear of death is taken away, because we know that in the presence of the Lord there is life, and as we are kept near him, nothing can hurt us. Now, my dear children, let

me earnestly entreat you, to mind the reproofs which you feel for doing wrong; this is the Spirit of Truth I have been speaking of, and as you carefully attend to it, it will lead into all truth — you will fear to offend by a repetition of those things, for which you have been reprov'd. It penetrates through every covering, and no dissimulation can possibly escape its all-searching power. Whenever through unwatchfulness you have given way to temptation, and by the merciful calls of this holy teacher, you become sensible of it, retire alone, and endeavor to get your minds drawn from every outward thing, to a reverential waiting upon your Holy Creator for a renewal of his light and grace upon you, that you may be strengthened to resist the enemy of all good in his future attempts; and be sure to avoid those things that have thus beguiled you, and brought distress upon the tender mind; for in this watchful state your minds will often be tendered, and at times sincere petitions will ascend for preservation and support in this world of vanity and trouble.

Your affectionate father,

Jona. Evans.

The proper care of Friends' horses at Yearly Meeting time, having at this time become a problem, Jonathan Evans, with other Friends, was appointed to study the situation. The legacy from John Pemberton of a piece of ground designated for this purpose was immediately helpful. The later sale of this property resulted in a fund known as the Pemberton fund which

today helps defray expenses of Friends travelling on Yearly meeting business to and from Philadelphia. Jonathan Evans was now appointed a member of the Meeting for Sufferings, a body which he served for forty-eight years.

Yellow fever which from time to time had appeared in Philadelphia became epidemic in 1793, taking a toll of about 5,000 lives. Among the victims was Daniel Offley, who had volunteered to nurse in the crowded wards of an improvised hospital. In him Jonathan Evans lost a dear friend, and the Society of Friends a noted member and minister. Jonathan Evans served on a committee to relieve the families of sufferers. To avoid the contagion, members of his own family were moved to Upper Darby, now Lansdowne. During their absence from Union Street, thieves broke into the house, and took some silverware, but being surprised, threw it into a well, from which it was later recovered.

Since Jonathan Evans was conscientious about ornamentation in the construction of houses, he had to refuse several promising contracts, and with a growing family of five sons and two daughters to support, he was somewhat straightened financially. To make ends meet he took up the manufacture of wooden buttons, for which he found sale. His own house was simply, but comfortably furnished, having carpets and, on the second floor, a bathtub of cedar wood. Hospitality for visiting Friends, especially at Yearly Meeting time, was generously practiced.

In 1794, at thirty-five years of age, Jonathan Evans was appointed an Elder. His wife, Hannah, was later acknowledged as a minister.

In these years Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* was

widely read in America causing a spirit of unrest within, and without, the churches. A Unitarian Church was founded in Northumberland, Pennsylvania. Here Joseph Priestly, English scientist and liberal thinker, spent the last years of his life. He exerted a considerable influence in Philadelphia, where a second Unitarian Church was established. This was the time of the notorious Whiskey Rebellion, which was promptly suppressed by George Washington and Alexander Hamilton.

In 1795, Jonathan Evans, now aged thirty-six, was appointed clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. He served in this capacity for sixteen years. At the turn of the century, a movement developed to build a new meeting-house on the burial ground at Fourth and Mulberry, now Arch, Streets. Of the committee for this project, as well as of a committee to deal with persons who sold spirituous liquors, Jonathan Evans was a member.

A few miscellaneous items suggesting the character of this decade may be of interest. Rahway Quarterly Meeting inquired whether Negroes might be admitted to membership as Friends. An affirmative answer was received. In Maryland and Delaware many so-called Nicholites, a plain sect, followers of Joseph Nichols, joined Friends. Jonathan Evans accompanied Benjamin Reeve in visiting families in Philadelphia and assisted in the publication of Job Scott's Journal. In Ireland, there was a serious doctrinal controversy among Friends, resulting in a considerable loss of membership. It forecast the tragic Separation thirty years later in Philadelphia.

Yellow fever again appeared, causing at least 1,300 deaths. Six of the country representatives who came

to Philadelphia to attend the Yearly Meeting caught the contagion and died. In consequence, the Yearly Meeting adjourned to Twelfth Month, when it was decided to hold its sessions for the future in the spring of the year, instead of the fall, as had been the earlier practice. In 1798 three Friends went to live with the Seneca Indians in New York State. Two years earlier the Indian Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting had commenced its work. For a century this was the only missionary work in which Philadelphia Friends engaged.

Still more miscellaneous are the following notes: In ordinary exchange, dollars now tended to replace pounds. An elephant was first exhibited in Philadelphia and Peale's museum was opened in the State House. Ice cream is first mentioned in 1797. Thomas Paine made an attack upon the character of George Washington and from that time onward Paine's influence waned. In 1797 John Adams became the second president of the United States and three years later the capital was moved to Washington.

In the summer of 1799, Jonathan Evans with several Friends visited New England. The company varied from time to time, those taking part included Rebecca Jones, Jane Snowdon, Gervas and Joseph Whitall, Ruth A. Rutter and Sarah Cresson. Richard Mott, aged thirty-one, an amiable and truly valuable Friend, joined the group en route. William Rotch, the elder, showed great kindness to the visitors. His daughter, Mary Rotch, about twenty-two years of age, tall and good-looking, accompanied these Friends on a part of their journey. She was the Friend who many years afterwards had a great influence on Ralph Waldo

Emerson. She later took part in a minor schism preceding the separation of 1827.*

During the channel passage of nine and one-half hours to the island of Nantucket, Jonathan Evans, expecting to be sea sick, stood for a long time on the main deck, but, though at times near it, he escaped "puking". The island then had about 6,000 inhabitants, with seven or eight hundred houses. There were about three hundred families of Friends. Walking on some of the sandy streets was not unlike wading. Fog at times enveloped the island. Jonathan Evans felt himself to be of little use, and often longed for home. He was anxious about the health of his wife in the warm climate of Philadelphia and wondered if she were sufficiently provided with money. In his better moments he enjoyed walking by the sea and climbing to higher ground, whence he had comprehensive view. He noticed there were few, or no, trees on the island.

After a stay of about twelve days the little company of Friends returned by way of Woods Hole to New Bedford. Sandwich, Barnstable and Boston were visited. Jonathan Evans rode on horseback to Lynn, and on to Salem. On the return trip they lodged at the home of Moses Brown in Providence.

Writing under date of 24th of Fifth Month, 1800, to his much beloved friend, Richard Mott, Jonathan Evans reported that for three months past he has been troubled with rheumatism, yet able to keep about, though very much crippled. Also in 1801, he wrote of being in a weak state of health, and low in his mind; or he would have gladly accompanied his friend, Richard Mott, on his visit to Chester County.

At this time a doctrinal controversy was carried on

* See page 54.

in England, in which Thomas Foster and Joseph Gurney Bevan were opponents. Fortunately, this dispute did not result in a separation. Elias Hicks was present at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and Jonathan Evans in close friendship accompanied him, Fifth Month 6th, 1801, to Germantown.

The use of the products of slave labor had long been a matter of deep concern to Friends. Many, following the example of John Woolman, entirely refused them. As time passed, it became increasingly difficult to draw an exact line between free and slave products. Some Friends, including Jonathan Evans and John Comly, felt released from the obligation of literal, strict practice of this scruple.

Writing on the 26th of Eleventh Month, 1801, from Baltimore, whither he had gone to accompany Sarah Cresson, Jonathan Evans told his wife that he felt entirely liberated as regards the use or non-use of these products. It has been frequently stated that the breach of unity between Elias Hicks and Jonathan Evans was caused, some eighteen years later, when Elias openly criticised Friends who did not refuse products of the slave economy. It seems more probable that the rift occurred at least on the part of Jonathan Evans because of a difference in doctrine.

Economic distress had overtaken Great Britain in 1802, and Philadelphia Friends contributed liberally to the relief of Friends there. John Pemberton distributed as much as £1000 of his own among the poor in Ireland. In this year Jonathan Evans attended the Yearly Meeting in New York. He also assisted the English minister, William Crotch, who was then visiting America. From this time on instead of practicing house carpentry, Jonathan Evans conducted a business in the sale of lumber. His yard was the lot on Pine

Street, to the rear of his Union Street home. Yellow fever again appeared in Philadelphia, this time causing 835 deaths and scarlet fever was for a time epidemic at Westtown School.

In 1803, the vast tract of unknown potentialities was acquired for the United States of America through the Louisiana Purchase. In the following year occurred the death of the Unitarian leader Joseph Priestly. The Friend and powerful evangelical minister, William Savery, near and dear to Jonathan Evans, who was later to edit his life, died in the same year.

As partner in the lumber business, Jonathan Evans now took Jesse Williams. Their yard was transferred to a lot at Seventh and Orange Streets, where the Orange Street Meeting House was subsequently built. The site is now occupied by the offices of *The Farm Journal*.

Friends who had gone north to Canada at the time of the Revolution and had settled there still maintained a connection with Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The Meeting for Sufferings was informed that Canadian law required oaths in certain cases, and that in consequence Friends were placed in a difficult situation. An address to the Canadian Parliament on this subject was prepared, and Isaac Bonsall, Oliver Paxon, Joseph Whitall, Jonathan Evans and Samuel Canby were appointed to bear the address to the lawmakers. This journey was accomplished in the winter of 1804-1805. The travellers were absent from home about three months, and on their return drove down the Hudson River on the ice.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH ELIAS HICKS

Two letters under date of 1804 show the intimate terms in which Jonathan Evans and Elias Hicks then addressed each other.

Philadelphia, 24th of 5th Mo., 1804

Dear Elias Hicks —

Thy kind letter was truly acceptable, and afforded renewed cause of humble gratitude that such brotherly remembrance should be communicated . . . There are many favours and blessings dispensed by the all bountiful Hand claiming thankful acknowledgment, but when enabled to center in the heavenly Gift and thro the medium of the Holy Spirit, feeling that we are members one of another, awful reverence and prayer for our own and each others preservation is begotten. This as I have great need, (I) sincerely desire for myself, for it seems a day of peculiar exercise in many respects . . . Sometimes when meditating on the subtle besetments of the grand Adversary which by insinuation and secret twining seems to strike at the root of Life, I have thought he was indeed permitted to take to himself great power and with dreadful malice make war upon all within his reach; sensible of my own weakness and that nothing short of Omnipotence could oppose with success his insidious attempts I have several times been ready to conclude it was impossible to stand.

Oh the unfathomable mercy and compassion of the Captain of the Soul's salvation whose protective Arm is reached and extended to the tribulated mind in the hour of temptation, raising a degree of faith and confidence which however small, will ever prove sufficient to repel the Enemy. . . . The subject which thou mentioned in thy Letter respecting disowned members being received without acknowledgement, has for some time been secretly spreading in these parts, and some in eminent stations have been rather inclined towards the adoption of such a measure, I esteem thy remarks thereon, not as a natural occurrence but a Providential intimation and encouragement, apprehending I was much alone, but it is comfortable to find there are others exercised on this subject, . . . some, active in the Discipline have argued with me on the reasonableness of abolishing our present rule and establishing this project as something founded on a more enlarged Principle less liable to deception, but however it may be covered with the appearance of universal Charity and more enlightened wisdom, it is (I believe) repugnant to the Doctrines of the Gospel and would in its consequences prove very injurious to the peace and well-being of religious Society. . . . Our late Yearly Meeting has concluded that our rules of Discipline shall be revised — perhaps some amendments are needed, but I am not without fear that unless a watchful care is maintained, the wisdom which is from beneath will through the plausible pretext of improvement be striving to introduce something of innovation, for the restless unsettled Spirit prevails among the various

classes of Men which if not guarded against will I believe, attempt to gain a footing among us also. . . . It seems a very low time among us as to the life of religion, and calls for very deep searching into the cause . . . a round of Duties may be performed and a regular deportment adhered to, yet from my feelings, I should conclude without breach of charity, we need to be shaken from our inferior dependencies and more certainly know our feet established upon the sure foundation, perhaps my own deficiency alone dictates this sentiment, poverty is often my lot, and a fear I shall not be enabled to keep my Garment, in this day wherein much lukewarmness and indifference abounds. . . Many of the members of this Yearly Meeting are going to attend yours . . . I wish their circumspection and cautious movements may be evident, and promotive of their ou [torn] ne young people are going to take this, and the com [torn] pretty easy. I have put up small Pamphlets for thee — two are alike, being a collection of several tracts for the perusal of young folk. The other a treatise on Slavery, which bringing to view some sentiments rather new, I thought thou might perhaps in a leisure hour incline to read it.

With affectionate love to thyself and thy beloved wife, I remain thy friend

Jona. Evans.

My wife desires me to communicate her love to thee and wife.

Elias Hicks replies:

New York, 1st, 6th Mo., 1804

My Dear Friend

How precious is that friendship that is founded on the truth, a basis that never can be shaken, nor will those who abide therein, ever be confounded. And althou while clothed in these clogs of mortality, and distantly seperated (sic) one from the other, and necessarily engaged in busy scenes of time by which means, a kind of coolness, by long silence and absence seems at times to intervene, but upon revival of communication, how love and life springs up and like the riseing (sic) sun with genial warmth, quickens, animates, and unites by there (sic) warming influence, kindred souls in the precious sense whereof, they can greet each other with cordial embraces. . . . This was refreshingly experienced, in the reception, and reading of thy kind remembrance of the 24th Ult. And I am made thankful in believing, that the Lord most high, doth still regard the dust of Zion, and stands graciously disposed (as there is an abiding before him, in reverence and holy fear) to polish all stones of her sanctuary And although satan by his insidious wiles, may rise up to oppose, and by the strike of his tail attempt, to cast down, some of the stars to the earth, yet as there is a repairing to the standard, of the great and mighty captain of the souls salvation, and a fighting faithfulness, under his banner of love, the great fiend will be foiled and cast out,

for it is unshakenly determined, that the Lamb and his followers shall have the victory. . . . The subject of acknowledgement alluded to, in my former communication, has very much subsided of late, and I have a hope (at least) that some friends concerned therein have grown by reflection thereon, so much wiser as to see the falsity and inconsistency thereof, Our Yearly Meeting closed near seven this evening, I think in the main it has been a favoured- season, wherein, the animating influence of divine love, hath been witnessed to preside, uniting the faithful, in honest travel (sic) and living exercise, for the promotion of Zion's cause. O, what thankfulness and Gratitude, doth a sense thereof inspire in the humiliated soul, that he who inhabiteth eternity, and dwelleth in the light, that no mortal can approach unto, should deign to draw near, and as it were to tabernacle, with poor dust and ashes and cause the tribulated souls to partake of his goodness and invigorating power, enabling to adopt the sacred language, God is my refuge, I will trust and not be afraid for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song he also is become my salvation. . . . In the sense of that love that makes brethren near, my spirit salutes thee and bids thee farewell. . . . Should thou have leisure and the way opens thereto, a line from thee will be refreshing, to thy real though poor and unworthy friend.

My wife joins in love to self and wife.

Elias Hicks

NB Please remember my kind love to Samuel Fisher and wife and dear Sarah Cresson and other inquiring friends in thy freedom. E. H. To Jonathan Evans.

From these communications it is clear that a bond of warm and loving fellowship still united Jonathan Evans and Elias Hicks.

DOCTRINAL DIFFERENCES

In 1805, a doctrinal cleavage began to manifest itself in America. The Quaker cleavage paralleled that in several other Christian denominations. One side emphasized a mystical, or even rational conception of religion, the other stressed salvation brought to mankind by Jesus Christ on the cross. One side preached the example and teaching of Christ; the other his sacrifice and atonement. Each found in Scripture abundant confirmation for its point of view. The resulting controversies shook the Church to its very foundations.

A STRAIGHT AND NARROW WAY

If remembered at all, Jonathan Evans is probably thought of as a prominent Philadelphia Elder who led in opposing Elias Hicks of Jericho, Long Island. Actually he was equally opposed to the two conflicting extremes of theological opinion. He openly voiced his disunity with certain doctrines preached by Elias Hicks, but he also opposed the teaching of Joseph John Gurney, of Norwich, England. These two ministers were both well known, highly respected, and each of them was backed by a host of loyal supporters.

That Jesus came to be the Saviour of the Jews only, that his mission was limited to them, that he differed from us only in having a larger gift of the Spirit than all men have; that he was saved by the same Power that saves us, — this Doctrine of Elias Hicks was a kind of teaching which Jonathan Evans could not support. He held that Jesus Christ, while actually a man

and subject to temptations like ours, was also truly God, manifest in the flesh; the Word made flesh; — the Saviour for all mankind.

On the other hand, he could not agree with Joseph John Gurney that God, Christ and the Holy Spirit are “three distinct and separate Persons”, or that the Holy Scriptures, (valuable though they be) are the *primary* rule of Faith and Practice. He had not so learned Truth. The primary rule, Jonathan Evans affirmed, was the Holy Spirit or Inward Light, which gave forth the Scriptures. This belief makes the Scriptures a secondary, though concurrent, rule, subordinate to the Spirit, from which they derive their excellency and certainty. Such being their origin, any doctrine which contradicts the Scripture is to be judged false.

Standing valiantly for these testimonies, Jonathan Evans found himself much alone, pilloried by both sides. So far as is known he did not defend himself from reproaches, but bore silently the slights and taunts of his former friends.

Even so learned a scholar as J. Rendall Harris of England is reported to have said that the tragic separation of 1827 was the work of the devil, ably assisted by Jonathan Evans. More recent studies have modified that view. Rufus M. Jones minimizes the part played by Jonathan Evans in the Separation and Elbert Russell in his history does not mention him at all, but names four others who appeared to him to have been the main actors in the tragedy.

CAUSES OF DISUNITY

As early as 1805 a certain jealousy was manifest among country Friends in regard to the management of the affairs of the Society of Friends. It was felt that city Friends too much controlled meeting business. At

certain seasons of the year on account of snow or mud, country roads were impassible. For this and other reasons it had become the practice in some country meetings to appoint city Friends to represent them on committees. The same was in part true as regards the Meeting for Sufferings, which acted for the Yearly Meeting between sessions. All this placed much authority in the hands of the city Friends. Also the Second-day Morning Meeting, which for many years had exercised a certain control over travelling ministers, came into disesteem. By the direction of the Yearly Meeting it was terminated in 1805.

A second cause of difficulty between city and country had to do with relations with Friends in England. City Friends for the most part had remained loyal to Britain. Some of them had business connections, buying and selling English goods. If prices were high, their profits were larger. To country Friends high prices caused real hardship. City Friends could often afford to live in affluence, while country Friends lived in real austerity. At Yearly Meeting time country Friends became keenly aware of this difference.

During the period under review certain ministering Friends from England were visiting the United States. Among these were George Withy, Anna Braithwaite, Isaac Stevenson, George and Ann Jones, Daniel Wheeler, Elizabeth Robson, Thomas Shillitoe and William Forster. Some visited American Friends more than once. The fact that they came from England did not recommend them to country Friends, while city Friends welcomed them and were glad of their company. All of these English visitors opposed Elias Hicks. Not infrequently after or even before he had spoken, they delivered their messages in contradiction

to his. Meetings began to exhibit a lack of unity, opposing parties developed and tension approached the breaking point.

PERSONALITIES AND DIFFERING THEOLOGIES

John Bartram was a self-taught Quaker botanist and explorer. Imbued with a deep love of Nature and delighting in the discoveries which his travels brought him, he appears to have come to believe in a transcendental conception of God, which to his fellow-members at Darby, Pennsylvania, appeared unorthodox. He did not appreciate the gift of a copy of Barclay's *Apology*, sent him by his London friend, Peter Collinson. He mistrusted the Indians, and in contrast to John Woolman, thought they might well be exterminated or driven back a thousand miles. He replied to Friends who questioned him, "The longer I live, the stronger is my disbelief in the divinity of Jesus Christ." (*The Journal of John Churchman*, p. 260, Edition 1781 also *Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association*, 24:56.) He refused to modify these views, and after he had been unsuccessfully dealt with, he was disowned by his Meeting on the 7th of Twelfth Month, 1757. To his credit it is due to say that he continued with his family to attend meetings for worship. All this time he was pre-occupied with his botanic garden. He died in 1777 while the British army was approaching Philadelphia.

Hannah Barnard, of New York State, an experienced nurse who published a book on the treatment of burns, was a gifted minister. She attracted wide attention by her able and convincing sermons and was much praised. By this, it would seem, she became somewhat exalted in mind. Her discourses tended by degrees to

make reason and reasonableness the supreme test of Truth. After a delay of nine months, for even then Friends had doubts concerning her, she was granted a minute in 1798 to attend meetings in Great Britain and Ireland. Arriving in Ireland when doctrinal differences there were at their height, she sided with those who favored rationalism. In London upon her requesting the approval of English Friends for a visit to the continent of Europe, she was called in question concerning her religious beliefs, especially by David Sands, an American minister, who had knowledge of her ministry both in New York and Ireland. Her answers did not satisfy English Friends, who withheld their approval, and advised her to return home. This judgment was confirmed by London Yearly Meeting, to which she appealed. Hannah Barnard then returned to America, and was subsequently disowned by her Meeting. She later joined the Unitarian Society.

Early in the Nineteenth Century a movement of the so-called "New Lights" appeared in New England. It was an off-shoot of Quakerly connection. Mary Newhall and Mary Rotch, the friend of Emerson, were concerned in it. This group protested against any outward authority or control in religion.

This novel teaching was opposed in America by George Withy, a visiting English minister. Meetings for Discipline took prompt action, and thirty-five New Light adherents were disowned in Lynn, and nearly as many in Salem. The movement lasted from about 1815 till 1822, when it spent itself in its own extremes.

Of far greater influence and importance was Elias Hicks, the early friend of Jonathan Evans whose affectionate letters have already been quoted. Elias was born in Jericho, Long Island, in 1748, and was thus

eleven years older than Jonathan Evans. He too was a builder and carpenter. He was also a surveyor and farmer, but above all he was a Quaker minister, who travelled far, being frequently absent from home for long periods. The details of his life are portrayed by Bliss Forbush in a biography entitled *Elias Hicks, Quaker Liberal*.^{*} He was recorded a minister in 1778 and for 27 years no exception seems to have been taken to his ministry. During the ten years between 1795 and 1805, he seems to have read widely in such books as Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, Joseph Priestley's works, and *The Celestial Magnet* by David B. Slack. These publications, he recommended to others.

In his sermons Elias Hicks expressed much that was true, sound, acceptable, and in accord with the Scriptures, and with the writings of early Friends. Only occasionally did he introduce matters of a rationalistic nature. At first few Friends noticed this tendency. Most supported him enthusiastically. He often spoke for an hour, or even two hours, and with such energy that at the close of his sermon, he would be soaked with perspiration. Walt Whitman, as a lad of ten years, listened to him with boundless admiration.

As early as 1805 Stephen Grellet, an immigrant from France who became a convinced Friend, noticed that Elias Hicks preached only one side of the Gospel, proclaiming the Inward Light to be the sole agent in man's redemption, without reference to salvation by Jesus Christ upon the cross.

In some of his conversations and letters, Elias Hicks expressed doubts concerning the Virgin birth of Jesus, and in others he affirmed that he never believed Joseph

^{*} Columbia University, 1956.

to have been Jesus' father. Writing in 1818, Elias said, "... I have, therefore, been led to see the necessity of investigating for myself, all customs and doctrines, whether of a Moral or religious nature, either verbally or Historically communicated, by the best and greatest of men or Angels, and not to sit down satisfied with anything, but the plain, clear, demonstrative testimony of the spirit and word of life, and light, in my own heart and Conscience, And which has led me to see how very far, all the professors of Christianity are from the real Spirit and Substance of the Gospel. ..."

Again, writing in 1821 of the birth of Christ, he said, "... Finding this to be the case, I have examined the accounts given on this subject by the four Evangelists, and according to my best judgment on the occasion, I was led to think there was considerable more Scripture evidence of His (Jesus) being the son of Joseph than otherwise. ..."

It has been suggested by some of his contemporaries that it was not the doctrines of Elias Hicks, but that his opposition to banks, Bible Societies, Missionary Societies, Farm Bureaus, voting or taking part in elections, and his disapproval of the Erie Canal and like ventures, in many of which prominent Friends in New York were concerned, kindled the first spark of disunity.

In his own meeting most of the leading ministers and elders, as well as the rank and file of membership, enthusiastically supported his doctrinal emphases, seeing in them a release from the tyranny of outworn creeds and dogmas. A very few Friends of his Monthly Meeting, perhaps not more than ten, disagreed with his teaching. These in time, having withdrawn from

the rest, formed themselves into a separate Monthly Meeting, and issued a testimony of disownment against Elias Hicks in 1828. This action was merely smiled at by his supporters.

In the wider field of Quakerism, little by little, many Friends came to see that the Elias Hicks of his later years, differed fundamentally from the Elias Hicks whom they had previously known and esteemed. A partial list of those who remonstrated with him, includes the following Friends.

Stephen Grellet, who had served with him on a visiting committee in 1808, at that time and later frequently labored with Elias, who promised him to be more guarded.

Gideon Seaman, a minister of the same meeting, also pled with him to renounce the views which he advocated.

Samuel Parsons, clerk of New York Yearly Meeting, in 1815 expressed the concern he felt about Elias's teaching.

Hannah Evans, wife of Jonathan Evans, in the course of a religious visit to Long Island in 1816, was entertained in Jericho at the home of Elias Hicks. She had a serious opportunity with him, in regard to the course he was pursuing, remonstrating firmly against it and endeavoring to bring him to feel the danger that awaited himself and the prejudicial effects upon others. He seemed to be affected by her labors, However, it availed little, as his after course proved.

Joseph Hoag, a minister had an unsatisfactory interview with Elias Hicks at Ferrisburg, New York, about 1818.

William Evans, son of Jonathan, questioned Elias in 1819 after a meeting at Mount Pleasant, Ohio. To him Elias gave an evasive reply.

George Withy, a minister from England, wrote in 1821, "I was closeted with one (Elias Hicks) who had been considered the first minister in America. . . . I was strengthened to maintain the ground I had taken in my public testimony. . . . He told me that more persons were now prepared to receive his testimony than were prepared to receive the testimony of our Lord and of his disciples at the time of their appearing among men. I had an hour's conversation to very little satisfaction. He professed great love for me and unity with my service, although our doctrines are as opposite as light is from darkness."

Thomas Willis, a minister, and his wife Phoebe, members of the same Monthly Meeting as Elias, frequently expressed their concern to him, and wrote him letters of expostulation in 1818, 1820 and in 1821.

Joseph Whitall, a minister of Woodbury, New Jersey, had an interview in 1822 with Elias Hicks in New York City, warning him that if he continued in the course he was following, he would cause one of the greatest separations the Society of Friends had ever experienced. Elias wept. He admitted it would cause a separation, but maintained that it would be short-lived, for his doctrines must and would prevail. In 1823 Joseph Whitall had a second interview with Elias Hicks at Woodbury, New Jersey. Elias had charged him with wresting words from their context and falsifying them. When confronted by evidence, Elias ceased to maintain the charge.

Late in 1822 when Elias was in Philadelphia, certain Elders of that city addressed a letter to him, in which they requested a private interview, at which certain charges brought against him could be investigated. This interview never took place since Elias

brought with him a number of persons who, he hoped, might be witnesses. The Elders, rightly or wrongly, insisted that the interview should be select, and so nothing resulted except further estrangement.

William Jackson, an aged minister, who having heard Elias say in meeting that "Jesus suffered as a martyr" as "many others have done", went to his house to have conversation with him on that subject. Elias remarked that there was much more scripture testimony to prove that Jesus was no more than the son of Joseph and Mary, than there was to prove the contrary. "Spirit," he said, "can only beget spirit."

In 1824 Anna Braithwaite, an English minister, had two interviews with Elias, at one of which he wept like a child. Correspondence followed, in which charges and countercharges were exchanged.

Lastly, George W. Taylor, of Philadelphia, had a conversation with Elias Hicks on his porch in Jericho in 1826. George Taylor asked Elias Hicks whether he believed in the divinity of Christ. Elias answered, "Yes, as fully as any Friend." George Taylor then asked if he believed in the miraculous conception of Jesus. Elias replied, "Oh! no, he had a human father and mother, as other children." George Taylor then queried, "What are we to do with the testimony of Joseph and Mary?" Elias replied that it was to their interest to make the statements they did. George Taylor then asked if he believed in the pre-existence of the Messiah. Elias said, "Oh! no, the first of him was when he was born of Mary in Bethlehem." George Taylor replied, "Then, what are we to do with Christ's own testimony: 'Before Abraham was, I am.' and 'Father, glorify thou me with the glory which I had with thee before the world was?'" Elias Hicks answered, "We do not know that he ever said so."

In justice to Elias Hicks it is to be noted that at other times he stated that he never believed that Joseph was the father of Jesus. How this is to be reconciled with his other statements, both oral and written, is an unsolved problem. Although in his preaching Elias emphasized and exalted the Divine Light in man, it is not certain whether he meant the Holy Spirit, or right reason. The popular acclaim which his preaching aroused had more influence with him than all the advice and caution.

CURRENT EVENTS

To resume here the chronicle of happenings: — In 1806 the new meeting house at Fourth and Mulberry (Arch) Streets was so far completed that one end of it could be used. The total cost of the building was \$21,683,37½. The Meeting for Sufferings was engaged in revising the Discipline. George Dillwyn of Burlington, and Jonathan Evans were both active in this work. Yellow fever again appeared, this time causing about a thousand deaths. England abolished the slave trade in 1807, though it did not become illegal in the English colonies until 1838. In 1807 the poet, John G. Whittier, was born. John Dickinson, patriot and once governor of Pennsylvania, died in 1808. He had taken an active interest in Westtown School, and in his later years, if not an actual member of the Society of Friends, he was very sympathetic with Friends.

The following letter addressed to William Newbold illustrates the practical interest which Jonathan Evans continued to take in the school:

Philada., 4th mo. 3d, 1809.

Beloved friend —

When thou spoke to me at Burlington to know whether we were in want of a female teacher at Westtown, I was unable to give thee any satisfactory answer until a visit was made to the School, since which I find there is an immediate want of one, particularly in the reading depart-

ment as that is at present unsupplied; if the young woman thou alluded to does not apprehend herself sufficiently qualified for that station, perhaps she would be suitable for some other branch, and may before long gain such improvement as to take that charge with propriety, and with satisfaction to herself —

I should be pleased to hear from thee as soon as may be as the Committee are anxiously concerned that the School may not suffer thro a deficiency in the number of teachers.

Thy friend, Jonathan Evans.

In 1809, the year which is notable for the birth of Darwin, Gladstone, Holmes, Lincoln and Tennyson, Jonathan Evans became clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings, a post which he filled for thirty years, until his death. The carefully written minutes of that body bear witness to his interest and oversight. In 1811 he was released at his own request from the clerkship of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and was succeeded by John Cox with Samuel Bettle as assistant. In 1812 he was appointed clerk of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, a post which he occupied for twenty-one years.

It was at this time that Stephen Grellet and William Allen were engaged in their extensive travels in Europe. With Stephen Grellet's encouragement Elizabeth Fry began her work among the women prisoners of Newgate Prison in London. In spite of the efforts for peace made by George Logan, grandson of James Logan, the War of 1812 broke out with England. During the three years of hostilities, a British force

captured the city of Washington. At the end of this war when the treaty of peace had already been signed General Jackson, in ignorance of this fact, gained a victory over the British forces at New Orleans.

Proposal was now made in Philadelphia for the establishment of a hospital for the mentally deranged. Jonathan Evans was one of the committee appointed to consider and mature the plans for this much needed institution. Fifty-two acres were purchased in 1813 at Frankford, near Philadelphia. The price paid was \$6,764. Four years later the Friends' Asylum was opened for patients.

Among the persons of note who died in the year 1813 were Nicholas Waln (minister), Benjamin Rush (doctor), Robert Proud (schoolmaster and historian), and Alexander Wilson originally from Scotland, and long resident in Philadelphia, the founder of American ornithology. Elias Hicks again visited Philadelphia. This was a year of financial speculation and collapse.

Hannah Evans made religious visits to Haddonfield and Salem Quarterly Meetings in New Jersey, and to Abington Quarter in Pennsylvania. In 1816 with Sarah Cresson she visited meetings in and near New York City. In the following year with Hannah Shinn she spent two months on a visit to meetings in New England.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF EDWARD HICKS

The Journal of Edward Hicks, a primitive painter, who was a cousin of Elias Hicks gives a vivid picture of a Philadelphia meeting for worship at this period. In 1812 or 13, he himself is unsure of the date, he met with some opposition, and some encouragement, at North Meeting. Under trying circumstances he had

been vouched for by an elderly minister, who knew him in Bucks County. The following extract depicts the anxiety with which he, a young minister about thirty years of age, and from the country, attended a prominent city meeting. He says:

“I have thought that had I been of a melancholy complexion I might have been tempted to commit suicide, that dreadful sleepless night! I was down low enough, and in the morning determined to go home. But an inward voice seemed to command me to go to Pine Street. This seemed to me terrible, for I had heard of Nicholas Waln and Jonathan Evans, and (I) dreaded to come in contact with them; as though they were a lion and a bear. But to Pine Street I must go, and had any one with Christian sympathy, met me on the way, and known the distressed state of my poor soul, they would have pitied me in their heart. At this meeting I took my seat in the gallery with fear and trembling. When I thought it right to speak, and stood up, Nicholas Waln looked at me as though he would look me through, but I went on with my communication to the relief of my mind and the satisfaction of Friends. In the meeting for business, when the third query and its answers came up, I made some remarks, using strong expressions, and whether it alarmed the old native of Bucks, who stood by me the preceding day, or not, I cannot say, but he immediately arose and informed the meeting who I was. When Jonathan Evans said, the young man was an entire stranger to him, but he had unity with his spirit. “So have I. — So have I.” responded something like twenty voices along the galleries, and in different parts of the meeting. After meeting, Friends manifested great kindness, and I

went immediately home, I think, upon the whole substantially benefitted by the severe probation."

In 1815 Napoleon had been defeated at Waterloo, and his military career was ended. In 1819 Florida and Oregon were added to the territory of the United States.

Within this decade a steam ferry boat named the Camden, for passengers only, began its service and the drawbridge over Dock Street was replaced by a permanent arch. A Lancastrian school in Philadelphia was started. A considerable outbreak of smallpox occurred at this time.

In 1817 at the age of fifty-eight Jonathan Evans retired from the lumber business and devoted the remaining twenty-two years of his life to the Society of Friends and to serving his other interests.

The large new meeting house at Fourth and Mulberry Streets was now completed, but even this could not contain the crowd that flocked to hear Elias Hicks when again he visited Philadelphia.

CLOUDS GATHER

We now approach that period in the history of American Quakerism when tensions which had gathered through the years were becoming so acute that some incident, even a trifle one, might easily result in open rupture. Attention has already been called to causes of difference between city and country. In 1819, a supposed slight was given to Elias Hicks at Pine Street Meeting. It was made use of by those who desired to widen the breach between country and city Friends. On Monthly Meeting day, Elias Hicks was present and spoke. Later he expressed a concern to visit the women's meeting. His concern was objected to by some Friends, including Jonathan Evans, but it was so far united with that Elias, accompanied by a Philadelphia Elder, Isaac Lloyd, went into the women's meeting. Men Friends, having proceeded with their business as far as it was possible to go, sat a considerable time in silence, awaiting Elias' return. A proposal was then made to adjourn. Whether this proposal was first made by Isaac W. Morris or by Jonathan Evans is not known. William Wharton, John Hunt of Darby and Samuel R. Fisher, at whose home Elias was staying, thought it best to wait; otherwise it might be construed as a slight. But the meeting adjourned and Elias Hicks and Isaac Lloyd upon their return, found the men's meeting room empty. Elias remarked, "It was kind of them to leave my coat behind, when they left."*

* Jeremiah J. Foster: *Authentic Report*, Vol. II, p.376 and Vol. I, p.354.

Later, at the home of Samuel R. Fisher, Elias asked if "that is the way they serve strangers when they came to visit them?" The following day Jonathan Evans called upon Elias Hicks, protesting his inciting the youth to disregard the admonitions of their elders. When Elias replied it was the Elders who first opposed the views of John Woolman on slavery, Jonathan Evans answered that, "John Woolman bore his testimony in simplicity, but never called his friends thieves and murderers," as Elias had designated those who used the products of slave labor. To this accusation, and a further one that he had misquoted the Bible, Elias Hicks replied that he would make no answer until Jonathan Evans expressed regret for not showing proper respect to Elias' concern to attend the Women's Meeting. Jonathan would make no acknowledgment, "not," he said, "being sensible of any error". They then shook hands and so "displeasantly" they parted.

In the following letter, dated Seventh Mo. 1820 to an unknown correspondent, Jonathan Evans states the grounds of his disagreement with Elias Hicks, and manifests a continued regard for him: —

"Beloved Friend: —

I have for many years had very serious thoughts respecting that Friend; and it would be a comfort and a joy indeed, if we had cause to believe, that self-will and human wisdom had less predominancy, and the life and power of truth were more prevalent under his ministry. Having at different times had interviews with him, and finding that his sentiments are in several respects repugnant to the principles and doctrines of our ancient

Friends and contradictory to the Scriptures, I candidly acknowledge that my mind is not so cordially united to him as I could have wished; for as a man and friend with whom I have been long acquainted, I have a sincere regard for him."

In 1821, as companion to Samuel Bettle, Jonathan Evans attended Concord Quarterly Meeting. They lodged at Jesse Kersey's.

The breach of unity already existing in the ranks of the Society of Friends was widened through a train of circumstances originating in the city of Wilmington, Delaware. A publication named *The Christian Repository*, from the year 1820 to 1823, carried a number of articles written by E. W. Gilbert, a Presbyterian minister. Over the signature "PAUL" he attacked the doctrines of Friends, and advocated the theology of John Calvin. To these articles replies were published written by Benjamin Ferris, who signed himself "AMICUS".

These articles had a wide circulation, and coming to the attention of members of the Meeting for Sufferings, some of the statement of "AMICUS" appeared to them unchristian. They took action as follows:—

"At a Meeting for Sufferings held in Philadelphia the 20th day of 12th month 1822 — present 50 members. A committee was appointed to consider what should be done in view of sentiments expressed by "AMICUS", sentiments with which Friends assembled at this meeting could not agree, and the following Friends were named: — John Cox, Jonathan Evans, Samuel P. Grif-fitts, John Comly, Samuel Bettle, Thomas Wistar and Thomas Stewardson."

EXTRACTS FROM THE WRITINGS OF PRIMITIVE FRIENDS

At an adjourned meeting held the 23rd of First Mo., 1823, an essay entitled *Extracts From the Writings of Primitive Friends Concerning the Divinity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* was produced. In view of the excitement prevailing in the city and elsewhere, some fears were expressed that the publication of the essay at this time might be harmful. Decision was therefore postponed till afternoon.

When Friends again met, sufficient unity was achieved to go forward with the publication, and the essay was entered upon the minutes. Later 10,000 copies were printed in pamphlet form.

When three months later, on the 21st day of Fourth Month, 1823, the Yearly Meeting assembled, the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, including this essay, were read. The first Friend who spoke gave his hearty endorsement to the labors of the Meeting for Sufferings and desired their encouragement. After him John Comfort of Falls rose and said, "I feel an impulse to say, as regards that creed or declaration of faith, who hath required this at your hands?" This speech, like a match applied to a mass of combustible material, released a torrent of criticism and invective. Many speakers in quick succession denounced the *Extracts* as contrary to reason, revelation and the Scriptures. After nearly three hours spent in discussion, it was agreed to adjourn the session until nine o'clock the next morning.

On the 22nd when the Yearly Meeting again assembled, Dr. Robert Moore rose and expressed his disunity with the creed or declaration of faith, which he said the Meeting for Sufferings had gotten up to suit their own purposes, and he proposed that the Extracts be expunged from their minutes. Several speakers approved of this. Elisha Dawson suggested that a committee be appointed to examine into the proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings, and report. Abraham Lower approved, and expressed the opinion that a radical change was needed. Edwin A. Atlee felt that the Meeting for Sufferings had exceeded their powers, and he loudly demanded "liberty! rational liberty!" Edward Hicks opposed the Extracts, and said that creeds and confessions of faith had caused all the divisions and quarrels in the church. He added, "The tremendous crisis has come. The Meeting for Sufferings cannot and dare not urge or saddle this creed upon the Society." He encouraged the young people present to soberly express their minds. John Comly, who as Assistant Clerk, sat next to Samuel Bettle, frequently urged Samuel to make a minute expunging the Extracts. "It might as well be done first as last," he said, "since it was evident that the Meeting would not bear it."

At length Jonathan Evans rose and gave a concise statement as to the origin and the purpose of the Meeting for Sufferings. He mentioned that the publication of our religious principles had repeatedly been made by it, and he denied that there had been any design to impose anything upon the Society. The Extracts, he said, were drawn from Fox, Penn, Barclay and others, whose works had been repeatedly owned

and printed by the Society.* To this a Friend answered that he had hoped no member of the Meeting for Sufferings would have opened his mouth on the subject before the Meeting. Delicacy and decency ought to have prevented it.

The explanations given did however have a quieting effect and the turbulence somewhat abated. Samuel Bettles rose and said he was the servant of the Meeting, and he had been endeavoring to discover what was the mind of the Meeting, but among so many propositions and opposite opinions, he was unable to decide, and therefore he would suggest that a minute should be made directing the Meeting for Sufferings not to publish the Extracts.

This suggestion was agreed to by some of the leading opponents, but others, more violent, openly rejected it. The Clerk's proposal ultimately prevailed, and a minute was made accordingly.

COMMENTS OF ELIAS HICKS ON THE EXTRACTS

Comments of Elias Hicks on the Extracts are found in a letter never before published in full, from Elias Hicks, New York, 5th Mo., 23rd, 1823, to William Poole, Wilmington, Delaware, and indicate his state of mind.

* It should be said that the Extracts were faithfully quoted from the writings of the early Friends, George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Whitehead and Richard Claridge. They emphasize the importance of the Holy Scriptures, the deity of Christ, the efficacy of his death, man's inability to save himself, and make but passing reference to the Light Within. Evidence of correct quotation will be found in a publication "A Controverted Document", where originals and extracts are placed side by side. This booklet was published by William Bacon Evans in 1946, at Mount Holly, New Jersey.

My Dear Friend,

They (the authors of the essay) first assert, that if any bring forward any doctrine that is not proved by Scripture, it is to be considered as a delusion of the Devil, hence they make the Scriptures, or their interpretation of them, the only rule of faith and practice. So do the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, and yet no two agree, but all disagree about the genuine sense of Scripture. Secondly, they assert that they receive and believe the Testimony of the Scripture simply as it stands in the text — And that there are three that bear record in heaven, the father, the word, and the Holy Ghost, and that these three are one, — This the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, also say they believe, but it is not what any rational man can possibly believe, in the literal sense of the expressions, for if one is equal to three, and three is no more than one, then one by the same rule, (as they have no other rule, for this glaring absurdity, but their own mere assertion) may be equal to three hundred, and three hundred but one, so that by this way of calculation, we destroy the use of numbers and make entirely void, the golden rule of right proportion, and overset all right calculations among men, and all this to get to heaven by some secret unknown way to Angels and to men, — They next assert their belief in the only wise omnipotent and everlasting God, who is the Creator of all things, and the preserver of all that he has made. And then contradict themselves, by declaring, that the infinite and most wise God, who is the foundation, root and Spring of all

operations hath wrought all things, by "Another that is" his eternal word and Son. Now I would inquire of these learned Sophists, how God should first by himself, have made and Created, all that is or has been created, and afterwards made and created them by another, even his eternal word and Son, and as the particle (and) dividing between the word and Son, makes two of them, distinct from the other, I would further inquire of these creed makers, whether God wrought with both at once or with one distinct from the other, and whether they will not admit, that God's word is older than his Son, for as we are not to put any meaning to the Scriptures, but to take them simply and literally as expressed in the text so we can reasonably believe, that God and his word are Co-eternal, as his word is always with him, and in him, but it cannot be said so of a Son, because a father must have a being before he can beget a Son, therefore according to the literal sense of all Scripture, and all other writings in the world a son must always be considered younger than a father, and a father older than a son. . . . They next assert, that "Jesus Christ is the beloved and only begotten Son of God, who in the fullness of time, through the Holy Ghost, was concieved, (sic) and was born of the Virgin Mary. Now to take it in the simple literal sense, this son of Mary, had no existence until it was concieved, (sic) and not a Son until afterwards born of Mary, and wrapped in swaddling clothes and laid in a manger in a stable, and nurtured at the breast of its Mother." They also assert that God has no Son but this Child of Mary's, for they say he is God's only

begotten son, therefore in the literal sense they assure us that God has not begotten any more sons than this one, hence the query arises does not this contradict the Scriptures, for I think Paul tells us, and he is allowed to be a Scripture writer, that as many as are led by the Spirit of God, are Sons of God. And in sons then heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Jesus Christ, who was born of Mary, here we learn from plain Scripture doctrine, that many sons, born of other women besides Mary, become the begotten Sons of God, and joint heirs with the son of Mary, and all these are the Lord's truly legitimate Children. . . . They further observe, "that in him (that is in the Son of Mary) we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins." . . . Now let me ask these creed makers how I shall know this to be true, for I have never known of any forgiveness of any of my sins, only from sincere repentance and forsaking of them, and this has never failed of bringing true peace to my mind, which I esteem as the result of the goodness and mercy of my heavenly father, which is beautifully displayed in the parable of the Prodigal Son, whose father did not ask anything more of his straying child, than sincere repentance, and amendment of life. And dare we suppose that our heavenly father, is more hardy, and less merciful than man.

Surely it is high time for these Creed makers to look well to their own conditions, lest through their traditional and unwarrantable attachment to the doctrines, and superstitious customs of the old Romish, and Episcopal Churches, they may find themselves fighters against God, and his truth, and

thereby engender the same spirit of strife, contention and persecution that so prevailed two centuries ago.

They further assert, that this same Jesus Christ, that was born of Mary, was made a Sacrifice for sin, who knew no sin, and that he was crucified and rose again, from the dead, or he could not have been raised from it, and that he now sitteth on the right hand of God, and that having been with God from all eternity was himself God. . . . Here we note the contradictory absurdity of their conclusions, when they assure us, that God himself was slain and was dead; and rose again, and sat himself down at his own right hand, having been crucified as an atoning sacrifice to himself for the sins of mankind, etc.

They further affirm, that God cannot be divided, from the least or lowest appearance of his own divine light, or life in us, no more than the sun from its own light, from which of course, according to the true analogy of right reason, it appears, that whosoever, has the least or lowest appearance of the light of Christ in him, hath the fullness of Christ, for if he cannot be divided from the least or lowest appearance than (then) he must be in it. . . . That upon the whole I consider the Catechism and confession of faith of our modern divines, comprehend a more contradictory and inconsistent Mass of matter, than the Catechism and confession of faith, of the divines of Westminster, so called, these last having greatly abused, mutilated and misconstrued the Scriptures, while the former, has as greatly if not more so, abused, mutilated and misconstrued the writing of our

primitive friends, as also parts of the Scriptures. But I have a spring of hope pervading my mind — that the time is not very far distant, when both of these confessions of faith will be consigned to oblivion.*

The English minister, William Forster, who spent over two years in the United States wrote in 1823: “. . . I must only add a few lines, as I wish to go to Pine Street Meeting, the meeting to which Jonathan and Hannah Evans belong; and although there is much of that dark and bitter spirit crept in among Friends, yet there is no meeting in the city in which I have been sensible of greater power, and in which I have found more openness. Dear J. is truly a father to me; he is sound as a bell, firm as a rock, and a true believer in Christ, and one who shows forth his faith in life and conversation. His wife is a precious tender-spirited woman; the more I am with them, the more I discover a true enlargement on Christian grounds.”

Of Elias, William Forster wrote, “Ellias Hicks plainly told me that, in consequence of introducing such subjects as the doctrine of Christ into my ministry, it had a scattering effect (I believe these were nearly his words), and that it tended to disturb the solemnity of the meeting, and that in consequence of such communications, I had blocked up my own way in many places.”

On a subsequent visit to Philadelphia, William Forster wrote, “Jonathan and Hannah Evans came to see me. I very sensibly felt the kindness of their early atten-

* This letter is in the collection of the Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

tion. They are very dear and faithful Friends; indeed there are none from whom I have received more warm expressions of sympathy and love than from their family."

In 1824, occurred the deaths of the poet Byron, and of Charles Thompson, long secretary of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and true friend of the Indians. General Lafayette visited the States, and was warmly welcomed. Asiatic cholera in 1825 caused 925 deaths. This year Thomas Jefferson died on Independence day.

On the 14th of Second Month, 1826, Jonathan Evans was in Harrisburg, Pa., at the State Capitol in the interest of a better bill on the subject of slavery.

PINE STREET MEETING 1826

Elias Hicks, having visited Baltimore, came by way of Darby to Philadelphia, and was present at Southern District Meeting on the 10th of Twelfth Mo., 1826. Considerable notice of his expected attendance had been spread. About one hour before the time for meeting, all the benches were occupied, and nearly all the aisles filled with expectant people.

A few minutes after 10 o'clock Elias arose and preached. In the course of his communication he declared, ". . . I say, dearly beloved, my soul craves it for us that we may sink down and examine ourselves, according to the declaration of the apostle, 'Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith, prove your own selves; know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates.' Now we cannot suppose that the apostle meant the outward man, that walked the streets of Jerusalem, because he is not in any of us. He came to be a Saviour to that nation, and was limited to that nation. He came to gather up, and to look up the lost sheep of the house of Israel. But as he was a Saviour in the outward sense, he was an outward shadow of good things to come, and so the work of the man, Jesus Christ, was a figure. He healed the sick of their outward calamities . . . he cleansed the leprosy . . . all which was external and affected only their bodies, . . . as sickness doesn't affect the souls of the children of men, though they may labor under all these things. But as he was considered a Saviour, he (the apostle) meant by what he

said, a Saviour is within you, for this made the ways of Jesus so wonderful in his day, that the Psalmist in his prophecy exclaims, 'Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, has anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.' He loved righteousness, you perceive, and therefore he was prepared to receive the fullness of the Spirit, the fullness of the divine anointing, for there was no germ of evil in him; both his soul and his body were pure. He was anointed above all his fellows, to be the head of the church, the top-stone, the chief corner-stone, elect, precious. And what was it that was the Saviour? Not that which was outward; it was not flesh and blood. For flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven. It must go to the earth from which it was taken. It was that life, the same life that I have already mentioned, that was in him, and which is the light and life of men, which lighteth every man, and consequently every woman, that cometh into the world. And we have this light and life in us, which is what the apostle meant by Jesus Christ, and if we do not have this ruling in us, we are dead, because we are not under the spirit of life. For the law is light, and the reproof of instruction the way of life . . ."

Soon after Elias had taken his seat, Jonathan Evans arose and spoke in substance as follows: — "I believe it to be my duty to say that our Religious Society have always believed in the atonement, the mediation and the intercession of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, — that by him all things were created that are in heaven and in earth, both visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, principalities or powers, all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things consist. Any doctrines which go

to invalidate these fundamental truths of the Christian Religion we cannot receive, nor do we hold ourselves accountable for.

“Great efforts are now making to bring the people to believe that our Lord and Saviour was no more than a man. This is not our belief, nor can we receive any such doctrine, nor anything which would inculcate such an idea, nor do we hold ourselves accountable for the sentiments of those who hold such doctrines.

“We believe that he is King of Kings and Lord of lords and the judge of quick and dead, and at his judgment seat every soul must be arraigned. Our Society always held and believed these doctrines, and we are not accountable for, nor can we have any unity with those who are endeavoring to make him a mere man. I think it is right for me to mention these things, in order that the people may not suppose that we hold or approve of such sentiments.”

After these expressions by Jonathan Evans, a disturbance occurred, occasioned by the indecent behavior of many, whose conduct was very disgraceful. Silence again being restored, Isaac Lloyd (also an Elder) arose and said, “I think it right for me to say that I do fully unite with what our friend Jonathan Evans has said, and that we never did believe our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, was sent to the Jews only, or that he was only the Jewish messiah, but that he was given for a light to the gentiles, and for God’s salvation to the very ends of the earth.”

Some people in the crowded meeting house again made a disturbance, behaving with great indecency, when Elias Hicks endeavored to check them. After they got a little quiet, he said, “I have spoken, and must leave the people to judge. I cannot exalt myself

into the judgment seat." He then turned to Willett Hicks and said some words, upon which Willett arose and said that he hoped this large assembly would gather into quiet, which had been in some measure interrupted; as it was very visible that there was a great want of religious life. He said that he was not replying to anything that had been said, for he did not notice it. It must be evident to all that there was a want of religious life among the professors of the Christian Religion. We all unite in this, I trust, but individually we are ascribing it to various causes, among which we enumerate many things. But this is visible and tangible, that it is all the effect of a cause, and there is but one cause that has produced this effect among us, and that is a departure from the guidance of the Holy Ghost — that is the ground and cause of all this evil and wickedness. . . . After which the meeting closed.

Elias Hicks then offered his hand to Jonathan Evans, who declined taking it, saying, "No, Elias, I have no unity with thee, nor with thy doctrines." Isaac Lloyd then said, "I am sorry, Elias, that thou goes about preaching such doctrines as thou dost." Jonathan Evans remarked that Elias was going about endeavoring to make the people believe that Jesus was no more than a man. Elias said it was a lie. Jonathan Evans replied, "He that denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father, let his pretentions to religion be what they may." At this Elias became quite angry. His countenance changed and he replied, "He that sayeth that I deny him, and make him no more than a man, is a liar!" Jonathan replied, "Elias, I do not regard thy abuse, nor am I afraid of thee. Thou hast departed from the truth."

After the meeting, much rudeness and insult were shown to the Elders of Southern District Monthly Meeting. Jonathan Evans was run against by a young man. It was alleged, perhaps truly, that this was only accidental, due to the crowding of the people. It was not so regarded by bystanders, one of whom requested that the lad's father regulate the conduct of his son.

In the afternoon of the same day at Twelfth Street Meeting, a very similar scene was enacted. Again there was a thronged meeting house. After Elias had preached, Thomas Wistar endeavored to speak, but his voice was drowned by hissing, and by the pounding of umbrellas. Following the meeting, Elias was conducted down Chestnut Street, by a crowd, as in triumph.

Following these incidents, the line of cleavage was more sharply drawn. The majority of Friends belonging to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting were favorable to Elias. However the clerk of the Yearly Meeting, Samuel Bettle, and the treasurer, Ellis Yarnall, together with the greater number of ministers and a majority of the members of the Meeting for Sufferings were unfavorable to him. In order that country Friends and what might be called the unofficial class might more fully share in the management of Yearly Meeting affairs, three lines of action were set in motion. The prime mover in these attempts was John Comly, school-teacher and minister, of Byberry, Pennsylvania. He was the assistant clerk of the Yearly Meeting.

It was proposed to the Yearly Meeting that the appointment of Elders, instead of being for life, should be for a limited period. Secondly, that the Representatives from country meetings should be increased. And

lastly, that Quarterly Meetings should be allowed to release their representatives to the Meeting for Sufferings, and to appoint others. To acquaint Friends with these proposals, John Comly held as many as forty meetings in country neighborhoods.

Meanwhile Green Street Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia, and Radnor Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania, both being dissatisfied with their connection in Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, without the consent of that meeting, joined themselves to Abington Quarter. Similarly, Mount Holly Monthly Meeting, New Jersey, not waiting for the permission of Burlington Quarter, transferred itself to Bucks. In this critical situation, with party spirit raised to a dangerous pitch, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting assembled in the spring of 1827.

THE STORY OF THE PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING OF 1827

In presenting the following account of the Separation, an attempt has been made to tell as impartially as possible what transpired at its sessions. The sources for such an account are abundant. Besides the minutes of the Yearly Meeting itself, and those of the Meeting for Sufferings, both of which are preserved at 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, there are numerous letters in the libraries of Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges. Also, there are journals of Friends on both sides of the controversy. Only less important are the histories already written, among which may be mentioned the following: —

James Cockburn, Review of the general and particular causes which have produced the late disorders and divisions in the Yearly Meeting.

Edward Grubb, Separations and Their Cause.

William Hodgson, The Society of Friends in the 19th Century.

Samuel, M. Janney, An Examination of the Causes which led to the Separation.

Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism.

Elbert Russell, The History of Quakerism.

Thomas H. Speakman, Divisions in the Society of Friends.

Allen C. Thomas, A History of the Society of Friends in America.

There is also Foster's Report. In fact, so numerous are the accounts, that the only reason for adding another is my access to a copy of a manuscript professing to give, if not the exact words, the gist of every important vocal offering during the sessions. The writer of this document is not certainly known, but internal evidence points to Thomas Evans, son of Jonathan, as the author. Since he was strongly in favor of the "Orthodox" side, his account (if it really be his) is, naturally, not without bias. However, as he was scrupulously honest, possessed of a keen and logical mind, and was an actual observer, as well as actor, in some of the scenes described, this account will, I think, deserve a hearing, at least by those who at times occupy themselves with the checkered history of the Society of Friends.

Although the scene of so dire a calamity, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1827 was a truly memorable occasion, for it was then that the pent-up forces, which for some fifty years had been accumulating, as in a Leyden jar, finally caused the explosion, which during 128 years, divided Friends in the Delaware Valley into two divergent and at times hostile groups.

Previously, the separating forces had developed gradually. The tension became acute only during the ten years immediately preceding the division. A feeling of apprehension, like a dark cloud, brooded over the assembly. All too soon the storm broke.

Outwardly there was little to suggest an approaching rupture. The Meeting was held as usual at Fourth and Mulberry (Arch) Streets, in the recently erected house, paid for by subscriptions of Friends generally, and on land given by William Penn. The Men's Meeting was again held in the large room at the eastern end of the building. The Women's Meeting occupied

the corresponding room on the west. The setting was much as it had been for twenty years. As Friends gathered, the same familiar figures were occupying the facing benches: — William Jackson, John Cox, Stephen Grellet, Thomas P. Cope, John Comfort (of Falls), John Parker, Abraham Lower, Jonathan Evans, Halliday Jackson, Thomas Wistar, Dr. Robert Moore, Thomas Kite, William Evans, William Wharton, Israel W. Morris, Dr. Nathan Shoemaker, Christopher Healy, Thomas Stewardson, Ezra Comfort, Hinchman Haines and many more. Conspicuously vacant however were the seats of prominent Friends lately deceased, namely Richard Jordan, Dr. Samuel P. Griffiths, Richard M. Smith, and others. Meeting attendance was larger than usual, the house being nearly filled. Henry Hull, a minister from New York, a man well past middle life, was present without a minute. At a table placed between the two uppermost gallery benches, were seated Samuel Bettle, the clerk, and John Comly, the assistant clerk. Friends had long managed their affairs in a good degree of harmony, interrupted only by the Keithian separation of 1692, and by the Free Quakers in 1777. Now however, two contending parties, like Jacob and Esau, were to strive for mastery. The outcome no one could predict.

Yearly Meeting weather is notoriously fickle. The average temperature for the Fourth Month, 1827, was 50°, the coldest for eleven years.

Under these unfavorable conditions, both inward and outward, Friends gathered on Second-day, the 16th of Fourth Month (called April), 1827. It was realized by both parties that the possession of the clerkship by either side would confer upon that party a considerable advantage. The two outstanding can-

didates were John Comly, minister, school-teacher, surveyor and farmer of Byberry, Pennsylvania; and Samuel Bettie, minister and merchant of Philadelphia.

If, prior to Yearly Meeting, any measures were taken to promote the nomination of Samuel Bettie, they have not been recorded. On the other hand, some Quarterly Meetings known to be favorable to John Comly had increased the number of their Representatives. It is the Representatives who nominate the clerk.

John Comly and Samuel Bettie were not personally at variance. They had frequent conversations, in which both of them were frank and open, and they spoke without reserve about the measures which John Comly and other Friends were taking to bring about a solution of difficulties in the Society.

SECOND DAY, 16TH OF FOURTH MONTH, 1827

The hour of 10 a.m. found Friends mostly in their places. In the period of silence preceding the taking up of business, Samuel Livzey spoke three different times. One or two other communications were made, whereupon Samuel Bettie, who had served as clerk for the last fourteen years, read the opening minute. The names of Representatives, 163 in all, were next called. Most of them were present. Minutes of visiting Friends, Stephen Brown, John Hewitt and ----- Osborn, none of whom were ministers, were presented.

The reading of these minutes was almost completed when Jane Peirce from Women's Meeting appeared, and said that the Women's Meeting wished to know whether the present was a suitable time for the Men's Meeting to receive a visit from Elizabeth Robson, a ministering Friend from England. She was visiting Friends in the United States, and was known to be

in sympathy with that portion of the Society later known as "Orthodox," to which Samuel Bettle belonged.

John Comfort of Falls, said, "It is my judgment that the meeting had better progress further in its business before we receive a visit." One Friend united with him. John Cox then rose and said, "I am surprised that there should be a word of opposition to our Friend's concern." He administered a rebuke to what he considered the forwardness of those that would put her off. Several Friends spoke in favor of her coming in at once. Jonathan Evans rose and said, "I think the woman Friend might now inform Elizabeth Robson that our meeting will receive her at any time."

Soon Elizabeth Robson came in and after a pause she addressed the Meeting, speaking first to those who were ardently concerned for the welfare of the Society, and "were often necessitated to go mourning on their way." She encouraged them, and expressed her conviction that the Truth would finally prevail over all opposition.

She then addressed another class who, she said, were as far from the others as the east is from the west — who were "blown about by every breeze, being as light as chaff — who knew no settlement and had been laying schemes in order to carry points."

She then made a prayer, alluding to the same diversity of states and making intercession for both.

After she had gone, John Miller, Jr., of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, said, "I thought the forepart of our meeting was preserved in much solemnity until it was interrupted by the improper intrusion we have just had." Some Friends had expressed their disapproval of Eliza-

beth Robson's visit by not rising during the time of her prayer and by keeping their hats on.

The Meeting proceeded to read Epistles from the several Yearly Meetings. One sentiment in the London Epistle was: "Our religious profession admits of no compromise of principle on any ground of expediency." The committee to write replies was next appointed; Thomas Wistar, Robert Smith, William Evans, Hinchman Haines, Isaac Parry, Abraham Lower, Othniel Alsop, Enoch Lewis, Jonathan Evans, Samuel Comfort, John Cox, William F. Miller, Benjamin Ferris, Edward Hicks, Daniel Stroud, Daniel B. Smith, Joseph Whitall and Thomas Stewardson.

After the Representatives had been requested to remain together to nominate Friends for clerk and assistant clerk, the meeting adjourned until 4 o'clock that afternoon.

MEETING OF THE REPRESENTATIVES

Agreeably to their minutes of appointment, the Representatives moved toward the front of the large east room in which Men's Meeting had just completed its morning session. Their one duty was to nominate clerks. The hour was now presumably about 12:30 or 1 p.m. Apparently no one had been appointed to serve as clerk or moderator for their gathering. Perhaps they could not agree upon any. However that may have been, their meeting proved to be disorderly and unsatisfactory.

Even before the Representatives could be collected, some one proposed John Comly to serve as clerk for the Yearly Meeting. Following that, another suggested the name of Samuel Bettle. There ensued a lively

debate as to the course to be pursued. Some Friends insisted that John Comly's name, having been mentioned first, it was but fitting that he should be considered first. On the other hand, it was urged that the release of Samuel Bettle from the clerkship, a post which he had occupied acceptably for so many years, ought first to be deliberated upon. Some Friends expressed themselves in favor of one course; some preferred the other. A large number of Friends did not express a sentiment either way.

Both William Evans and John Paul voiced objections to John Comly's nomination, in view of the separate meetings which he was well known to have sponsored — meetings in which the divided state of the Society had been considered and the possibility of a separation discussed.

In view of the *impasse* Abraham Lower, who was very active on the part of John Comly, called upon John Watson to go to the clerk's table and take down the names of those Representatives who were in favor of John Comly. Some elderly Friends opposed this, and John Watson who was reluctant to go, did not do so. This having failed, Abraham Lower next proposed that Representatives who approved of John Comly should remove across the aisle to another part of the room and there draw up a report. By all accounts those favoring John Comly were in a majority. They mustered perhaps two-thirds of the whole group. Friends' practice has been, however, to decide questions, not by majorities, but by what is called "the sense of the meeting." In consequence of this, when Abraham Lower and six to ten others rose from their seats and moved across the aisle, Daniel Stroud remonstrated with them on the impropriety of such a measure.

Seeing they were not followed, they at length gave over and resumed their seats.

The discussion dragged on and hours passed. It will be remembered that Friends, some of them elderly, serving as Representatives, had already attended the morning session of the Yearly Meeting. The session having continued without intermission or refreshment, they were much exhausted. Abraham Lower was interrupted by Thomas Wistar and some others, and requested to give others opportunity to speak. He persisted however in taking up time. Cephas Ross more than once made an impassioned speech, and for what seemed irreverence was rebuked by John Cox. Cephas withdrew for a time and then returned, eating a large Dutch cake.

It was suggested that John Cox should report to the Yearly Meeting that way did not open to release Samuel Bettle from the clerkship. On the other hand, Abraham Lower proposed that a young man, Marden Wilson, should go to the table and take down the preferences of the Representatives. He did go to the table, but the confusion was such that he could make little progress.

At length it was suggested that John Cox make report that the Representatives could not agree as to the nomination of a clerk. This compromise measure was assented to by many, including some who had supported John Comly. Abraham Lower, however, vehemently opposed it, saying more than once, "Friends! Don't you realize that if this report is made Samuel Bettle will be clerk!" Various suggestions were offered, including the proposal that the Representatives should adjourn to meet that evening, or at 8 o'clock next morning.

It was now 4 o'clock, and the hour for the Yearly Meeting to convene had arrived. Some Representatives wishing to leave the room, opened the south-east door, and Friends who were waiting for the regular session to open, pushed in, and this in effect put an end to the Representatives' Meeting.

SECOND DAY, THE 16TH OF FOURTH MONTH
AFTERNOON SESSION

About the time adjourned to, the Meeting again assembled. Samuel Bettle sat at the clerk's table, (for it is the custom for last year's clerk to serve until a new appointment is made). John Comly sat elsewhere, awaiting the report of the Representatives. During the pause usually observed at the commencement of the sitting, John Parker and Ezra Comfort spoke on the necessity of being preserved in love, patience and quietness. The Meeting being opened, John Cox made report that the Representatives had not agreed to nominate any Friend for the station of clerk. Soon after, William Jackson arose and mentioned that he had attended Yearly Meeting ever since the year 1767, and agreeably to the practice which had obtained ever since he had known the Meeting, he would now propose that the present clerks should continue to act for this year.

To this some opposition was made and various propositions were offered. Two, however, seemed principally to gain support: — one by Abraham Lower to adjourn at once and recommit the subject of clerks to the Representatives; the other, by Halliday Jackson, that the present clerks should act for the afternoon, and the nomination be returned to the Representatives,

with the understanding that a majority of them should decide.

Meanwhile a very large number of Friends expressed approbation of the present clerks being reappointed for the year, and several of the Representatives gave it as their judgment that no advantage would result from returning it to them, as there was not the slightest probability that they could agree. Some of them thought the present clerks had better be continued, though they should have approved of a change, if it could have been effected. They were, however, willing to submit. Among these were John Comfort (of Falls), Enoch Walker and Joshua Paxson.

Many of those favoring John Comly having worked their minds into a state of excitement, were frequent in their declarations that the meeting was in no state to transact business, and that an adjournment was necessary, without coming to a decision now. Thus they kept speaking almost continuously. At length a Friend said, "I think the mind of the meeting has been sufficiently expressed, and the clerk may make a minute to that effect." Abraham Lower said, "I warn the clerk not to do so, but to allow more time. A few are not to govern the Society. I hope the clerk will make no minute. I have observed that the clerk has been writing. I hope he will not read what he has written. It would be an act of injustice to continue the present clerk and I hope the meeting will not sanction an unjust act." He then entered into a discourse to prove that the Society of Friends had recognized the principle of rule by majorities, in the decision arrived at relative to appeals. A number of Friends now expressed their approbation of the present clerks proceeding with the business.

Samuel Bettle then read the minute he had made, continuing himself and John Comly, as clerk and assistant clerk. Upon this there was heard a loud shout, and for a time all order seemed to be set at defiance. Cephas Ross has stated that he thought at least 100 people were on their feet at once, another Friend thought there were many more.

At length when a little silence had been obtained, Dr. Nathan Shoemaker, Zebulon Holmes and Joseph Parker made severe charges against Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting. John Cox, William Newbold and several country Friends objected to the introduction of that matter at this time.

It was now proposed to proceed to the business of the Meeting, and Samuel Bettle requested John Comly to come to the table. He, however, did not comply, and this prolonged the discussion. Many Friends expressed their wish that he would submit and take his seat. Many, even of his own party, seemed desirous that the Meeting might quietly proceed with its business. At length John Comly arose and said, "In condescension to the sentiment of some Friends I shall now go to the table. The present state of the Meeting arises from the fact that there exist in it two separate parties. Condescension and brotherly kindness which once characterized our Society are too much lost sight of. This being the case, I think it would be best for the Meeting now to adjourn, and not to proceed with any business." John Cox united with this.

Thomas Wistar thought that the Meeting might proceed to appoint a committee to examine the treasurer's accounts. Samuel Bettle said the Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings might be read, as they were not long, and he again called on John Comly to come

to the table. With great reluctance John Comly complied.

Joseph Foulke then made a long speech about the Meeting for Sufferings, suffering with the suffering seed, and the sympathy he felt for many of his brethren who were under suffering. He spoke about keeping to the Spirit and to the ancient foundation, and declared that he was on that foundation which could not be moved. By way of comforting his brethren he told them that a way was opening by which they would be able to meet in peace and quietness, and be released from all their oppression.

John Bunting became much excited, and with uplifted arms cried, "Let us separate! We had better separate! I told you so, Friends! Didn't I tell you so, long ago? Only look at the state we are in!" Joseph Bunting expressed the same feeling as to the necessity of separating. Other Friends said we were all in confusion, and were not in a condition to do any business. To some others it appeared that, if only more calm and quiet were observed, there would be little difficulty in the Meeting doing the work which still lay before it. Instead of that, however, many young men were very querulous and noisy, crying out with great vehemence, and making gestures with their arms and heads, so that nearly one-third of the meeting attenders were on their feet at once. But, as storm is sometimes succeeded by great calm, so it was in this case, and before long the Meeting became as still perhaps as ever a Meeting was.

A committee was nominated to examine and settle the accounts of Ellis Yarnall, treasurer, namely: William Wharton, George Williams, William Grant, Isaac Longstreth, John Watson (of Buckingham), John Comfort

(Falls), William Gibbons, Francis Wisely, Nathan Sharpless, Moses B. Cheyney, Stephen Webb, Thomas Berry, Jonathan Jenkins, William W. Moore, Rowland Jones, John Bishop, John R. Parry, Jeremiah Willetts, John Shepherd, Samuel Abbott, Abel Shotwell and Benjamin Parker. During the time of quiet which ensued, John Parker made some observations on the necessity of prayer. The hour of nine having been proposed for the morning session to convene, the Meeting quietly adjourned.

THIRD DAY MORNING, THE 17TH OF FOURTH MONTH, 1827

The Meeting assembled about the proposed time.

Alexander Wilson made some observations upon his own experience of the dealings of the Lord with himself; he had realized that God never forced him to do right, but rather drew him by His love. He therefore counselled Friends not to attempt to coerce people, however erroneous their principles, but to draw them by that love which tolerates all. John Mann spoke a few sentences on text, "Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered." The clerk then opened the Meeting.

Immediately upon this being done, John Comly rose and spoke nearly as follows: "At the last sitting I said I would go to the table in condescension to the wishes of some Friends. In that feeling I am now here. I mentioned at the same time that this Meeting is composed of two separate and distinct parties, and owing to the circumstances, these two parties are at present irreconcilable. Such being the case, and very important business being likely to engage the attention of the Meeting, especially in the answering of certain

queries which are addressed to subordinate meetings, and which it is not in a condition to answer in the affirmative; (for instance) we have the query, "Are love and unity maintained amongst you, as becomes the followers of Christ? (Again) "Are endeavors used speedily to end differences where they arise?" Now, if these queries were addressed to either party separately, I suppose they would answer them in the affirmative, but collectively, as we are now constituted, we must answer them in the negative.

"As the two spirits strove for mastery formerly, so now these two parties are striving for the mastery, and inasmuch as I apprehend I see that if the Meeting proceeds with its business, it must be in that state of confusion and tumult which attends this strife, and one party must gain the ascendancy and predominance, to the grievance and oppression of the other, and inasmuch as I apprehend I see a door opened by which we may be relieved from this state of contention, and both parties accommodated by an arrangement which will recognize the tender scruples of each; but if in the midst of such contending parties, the Meeting is resolved to proceed with its business at all hazards, I cannot conscientiously consent to be the organ of a body made up of two conflicting parties, and I shall therefore request the Meeting to be permitted to retire into peaceful quiet, and suffer with the suffering seed. But as I see an easy way opening by which our differences may be reconciled, and each party (may thus) meet quietly and peaceably, I now propose that this Meeting suspend all further proceedings in the important business that was expected to come before it, and adjourn, until time is allowed for such an arrangement

of our differences to be made, as will meet the views of the two parties, and enable each to proceed with the business with peace and quietness."

When John Comly had thus expressed himself and had taken his seat, Samuel Bettle turned to him and said, "Why, John, you (thou and thy Friends) have mentioned no time to adjourn to, and it would be a dissolution." To this John apparently made no immediate reply. Several persons now expressed approval of the proposal to adjourn.

Abraham Lower then rose and began to speak of what had transpired in the recent Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, especially the appointment of a committee to visit the Preparative and Quarterly Meetings of Ministers. He said, "This committee will come down to the different Meetings and sit in judgment upon the consciences of their brethren, and will decide who are orthodox and who are not. As the government of conscience is not to be deputed to any man but is peculiarly God's prerogative, and as every man has a right to his own faith and belief, so I will freely sacrifice it, rather than submit my conscience to the domination of any man, or set of men."

Joseph Whithall and Benjamin Cooper objected to Abraham Lower's proceeding, especially to his alluding at this time to the business of the Select Yearly Meeting. Abraham Lower, however, persisted, remarking that if they had done what was right, they need not be afraid to have it known. He went on in some very severe strictures upon Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, asserting that for a long time past they had persecuted and oppressed and disowned every servant and messenger of the Lord, who had dared to speak the whole counsel of

God. He asserted it without fear of contradiction, and added that this committee of the Select Yearly Meeting was got up under the same improper influence. It was chosen because a statement of one of the Preparative Meetings, then sent up to the Quarterly Meeting, and through that to the Yearly Meeting. This statement was to the effect that ministers had come among them preaching doctrines calculated to destroy faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. This statement, he said, was founded on a system of persecution, got up first by a party of a few individuals and afterwards taken up by Monthly Meetings, against a faithful servant and messenger of the Lord, who had come among us, and they had even gone on to denounce and disown him. "Well, now what will be the effect of this thing? Why, it is easy to see. You know something of the State of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting. There are a large number of Friends belonging to that Quarter who are suffering under grievous oppression, and they see no way of relief, except from this general Yearly Meeting, and as the two parties are now perfectly distinct, I think it is impossible for the Meeting to proceed with justice, and therefore I approve of the adjournment of the Meeting at once, until such arrangements, as has been proposed, be come to, by which each one separately may meet in peace and quiet and act in such manner as they think right."

Abraham Lower's speech has been given entirely, but during its delivery a great storm arose. Several Friends objected to his proceeding, among them were Benjamin Cooper, Joseph Whitall, Thomas Wistar and Samuel Bettle, each of whom made some observations as to the impropriety of his continuing, he standing till they were done, and then persisting in speaking.

Others appeared to be very angry at his being interrupted, many of them calling out at once, "Let him go on." "He shall speak." "He has a right to relieve his mind." "Go on, Abraham Lower." "Sit down, Thomas Wistar." "Samuel Bettle, be quiet until Abraham Lower has done." "John Worth, sit down." Thus, some cried one thing and some another and with angry violent looks called out in loud voices, so that the confusion became general. Meanwhile John Bunting arose with a woeful countenance, and sawing the air with his arms, cried out, "Didn't I tell you so, Friends! You had better adjourn! Can't you see that John Comly had the Spirit when he proposed to adjourn? Can't any man see it was the mind of the Spirit that John Comly spoke? This Meeting is a disgrace to the Society. You had better adjourn, Friends. I told you so. We can't keep together to any advantage." John North attempted to make some observations while Abraham Lower was standing. Several voices cried out to him at once, "Be still!" "Sit down!" "A Friend up!" and so on and on, all of which John North did not, in their apprehension, duly regard. Edward Shotwell, who was standing a few yards from him in the passage, stepped toward him, his face pale and quivering with anger, and seizing him by the arms attempted to force him into his seat. John North kept cool and said quietly, "Will thee force me down?" "Yes, I will," said Edward Shotwell, "I am appointed by the Monthly Meeting to do it."

Abraham Lower having sat down, John North again rose and said, "I have not the least objection to Abraham Lower's going on with his speech. I think it was perfectly right. It is necessary that this spirit shall manifest itself, what it is. I think the prayer

offered by our dear Friend, Elizabeth Robson, yesterday in this house has been remarkably fulfilled. She prayed earnestly that this dividing spirit might manifest itself fully, and now we see it. It is the same spirit that appeared in Ireland, and separated some there from the Society. It is the very same spirit. I told Friends so in this Yearly Meeting three years ago, and now it is showing itself. Friends, it is a dividing and separating spirit."

Gradually the Meeting became more settled and quiet, and a large number of Friends expressed their wish that the Meeting might now proceed with the business.

Thomas P. Cope said he thought the request of John Comly a very reasonable one, and was quite willing that he should retire from the table. With this sentiment several Friends fully concurred and requested Samuel Bettle to proceed (alone) with the business. Others were extremely unwilling for this, and were very anxious to introduce a discussion respecting Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting. Joshua Lippincott said its members had an undue influence and carried measures with a high hand over the heads of the country Friends and he thought it was a great oppression. Dr. Nathan Shoemaker spoke vehemently against Philadelphia Quarter, and said the subject was now fully and fairly before the Meeting and he hoped time would be allowed to consider it. Thomas P. Cope said, "I am really surprised that any Friend should make such remarks as we have just heard. It is well known that the Representatives from two of the Quarters have been doubled, and that another Quarterly Meeting has appointed 15 Representatives, when if Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting had been equally rep-

resented it would have at least 150 Representatives." These remarks at once checked the accusers, and turned the tables quite against them, so that one or two of the Liberal party expressed their objections to Joshua Lippincott's remarks. One or two country Representatives said they felt the reflections against Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting were unjust.

John Comly finding that his proposal to adjourn did not appear to claim as much notice as he wished, came forward with it again, and reminded Friends that a distinct proposition to adjourn was before the Meeting. Instead of attending to that, however, Friends began to talk about a dissolution of the Yearly Meeting. John Comfort and Joseph Foulke spoke upon the peace and satisfaction they should have in going to their homes quietly, rather than to enter upon subjects which would produce much excitement and confusion. The subject of adjournment seemed for the time to be overlooked.

Perceiving that he was unable to carry his point, John Comly then rose a third time and said, "Since I find that the Meeting is not prepared to adjourn, — mind, Friends, I did not say dissolve, — I am quite willing, after the usual expression of approbation to determine the sense of the Meeting on my continuing at the table, I shall entirely submit to the Meeting and proceed with the business."

A number of persons now arose and expressed approval of his continuing. His condescension in yielding to the will of the Meeting, contrary to his own expressed desire, was commended.

Cephas Ross, a Representative from Bucks County, made a very long speech to the "ruling party," as he

was pleased to style them, the sum of which was to ask them how they would like to be in the situation of those whom they were oppressing. He made a frequent and seemingly irreverent use of the sacred name, so as to render his communication extremely painful to some of his hearers.

John Comly now proceeded to read the Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, which occupied much of the remaining part of the session. Among other subjects mentioned in the minutes was the appointment of a committee to attend to the publication of a periodical work, made up of sermons preached in the Meetings of Friends and taken down in shorthand by the Editor. John Comfort (of Falls) seemed to think the meeting ought not to pass over this subject without the expression of its feeling whether the Meeting for Sufferings had a right to take down and publish such sermons, or not. For his part he thought that neither this Meeting nor the Meeting for Sufferings had any such right. Othniel Alsop felt they had. It was concluded to drop the subject for the present.

A request was then made for a time of silence previous to adjournment, which being at length obtained the Meeting closed, to assemble again at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

AFTERNOON SESSION, 17TH, FOURTH MONTH, 1827

About the time adjourned to, Friends again assembled, and the Meeting took up the Queries and replies. In the answers to the First Query, relative to Meetings for Worship, Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting noticed three disorderly meetings. Abraham Lower said, "In the report mention is made of care having been ex-

tended to the proper persons, to those who were the causes of these disorders. I believe I can say that it has not. I do not know what can be done about it, but I suppose the cases are pretty well known." Aside from this, the first two Queries elicited very little remark.

Shortly after the answers to the Second Query were read, Jane Peirce and Mary Wistar announced that Ann Jones had a concern to pay a visit to Men's Meeting. Ann Jones, another English minister, was an acceptable visitor to Friends of "Orthodox" sympathies, but was not so approved by "Liberals." After a few minutes' pause a number of Friends expressed their full unity with her coming in. George Gibbons rose and said, "I do not believe it is the right time for her to come in (for my part) I cannot receive her." His remarks excited very little attention. As there was a pretty general expression of unity, the women were desired to invite her to come in. During the interval of waiting for her arrival, four or five persons, including Thomas Phipps, protested against accepting her visit. However, she soon entered, and after a solemn pause, she knelt in supplication, beginning with that passage from the 80th Psalm, "Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a flock, thou that dwellest between the cherubim, shine forth." As Elizabeth Robson had done, she alluded to the same two classes, and petitioned earnestly for both. Then in a communication of considerable length she warned Friends to flee from temptation, as for their very lives, and to beware of the stratagems of the emissaries of satan, those that were endeavoring to persuade them that there was no devil, while at the same time he was

holding in his embrace many who were denying his existence.

She concluded with certain sublime passages, as, "The Angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him," "They that trust in the Lord shall be as Mount Zion." "Trust ye in the Lord forever; for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength."

Almost as soon as she sat down Moses Lancaster rose and said, "There is a passage of Scripture that has been revived in my remembrance, which I am willing to mention for the encouragement of my dear sister," "Resist the devil and he will flee from thee." David Foulke from Green Street, called out, "Friends, beware of the leaven of the Pharisees." Ann sat very quietly for some moments. The few rude remarks did not dissipate the quiet covering which was over many minds, and after a pause she withdrew.

The reading of the Third Query and its answers followed, after which the Meeting adjourned to eleven o'clock next morning.

FOURTH DAY MORNING, THE 18TH OF FOURTH MONTH, 1827

Friends met about the time agreed upon.

William Evans made some observations on the importance of the matter contained in the Third Query, relative to the education of children. Joseph Foulke followed him. Then Abraham Lower took up the subject, and recommended that Friends read *The Christian Quaker* by William Penn and George Whitehead, and also *the Sandy Foundation Shaken*.

The Meeting proceeded in the consideration of the state of Society, as far as the Sixth Query, inclusive. The subject of spirituous liquors contained in the

Fourth Query claimed considerable attention. Abraham Lower, as he had done for some years, spoke on the impropriety of using articles produced by the labor of slaves.

Then adjourned until 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

FOURTH DAY AFTERNOON, THE 18TH

About the proposed time the Meeting proceeded with the remaining Queries. No new meetings had been settled since last year. The list of deceased ministers and elders was unusually long, thirty-four in all, though the larger number were elders. Among the ministers were two whose loss would be much felt, namely: Richard Jordan and Richard M. Smith.

Having finished the Queries, the other matters on the reports were read over, and the necessity of appointing two members for the Meeting for Sufferings, in the places of Richard Jordan and Samuel P. Griffitts was alluded to. Some Friends felt it would be most in order to finish the other business on the reports, as some of the matters there proposed would necessarily affect the mode of their appointment. Therefore it was thought best to defer these appointments for the present.

The probability that Friends of North Carolina would soon want the money (\$3000) which our Yearly Meeting had directed the Quarterly Meeting to raise and forward to its Treasurer, for the aid of Friends there, in removing the few free people of color from that state, being mentioned to Meeting, it was proposed that the Meeting for Sufferings be authorized to borrow this sum on the credit of the Yearly Meeting, to be paid in by the Quarterly Meetings, as soon as possible. Dr. Robert Moore, John Hunt, Halliday Jackson, John

Bunting and a number more of the "Liberal" party fully approved of this proposition.

Then adjourned to 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

(I have been unable to find any reference to the Meetings for Worship held on Fifth day morning.)

FIFTH DAY AFTERNOON, 19TH OF FOURTH MONTH, 1827

About the time adjourned to, Friends met again. After a time of silence the Meeting was opened.

Some discussions ensued as to whether the matter on the reports should be taken up, or those subjects which interested the Women's Meeting. Many Friends were in favor of the latter, as it was understood that their Meeting had but little remaining business to attend to. It was, however, thought best to proceed with the reports. The minute of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting asking for an explanation of the Discipline on the subject of Appeals was read. With very little discussion, and the full consent of Philadelphia Friends the matter was dismissed. It was again proposed that the reports which had to be sent to Women's Meeting should be read. This was agreed to, and the Westtown Report was read first. This gave a very satisfactory account of the girls' school, but as to the boys, all had not gone well. A spirit of insubordination and libertinism had unhappily made its appearance. Owing to improper advice from some sources they had gone so far as to declare that they would submit to no restraint or control, nor would they read the Scriptures. They had burned all the Bibles that were to be found in one school, and a large number of those in another. The Committee, however, stated that through the diligent care and attention on the part of the teachers and committee, the boys were becoming more orderly,

and the prospect of restoring a state of good government was not remote. The literary advancement of all the children was felt to be encouraging.

Several Friends came out with heavy charges against the Committee, particularly George Gibbons, Edmund Shotwell, Cephas Ross and several others, who strongly urged the discharge of the Committee and the appointment of a new one. On the other hand, it was stated that the present difficulties at the school did not arise from any neglect or deficiency on the part of the Committee, but were the natural consequence of sentiments which had been promulgated for some time past, the tendency of which was a dis-esteem for the Sacred Writings, as well as a disregard of all parental authority, as well as moral and domestic discipline. The subject was fully opened and stated to the Meeting, the real cause pointed out, and many Friends came forward and said that the release of the Committee at this time would seem like encouraging the boys in their opposition to good order and government, and that would be making things worse, instead of better. They hoped the Committee would be strengthened and encouraged to persevere in the charge entrusted to them. The Committee was accordingly continued and was desired to give further close attention to the school's welfare.

The report of the committee on Indian affairs was then read, in which it was stated that five Friends (three men and two women) were settled among the Seneca Indians with a view of promoting their improvement, and that the schools amongst them had been kept up and the improvement of the children in literature was marked. Some attempt had been made to instruct them in the mechanic arts and in the use of

tools, and these exertions had been attended with beneficial results. In regard to their improvement in agriculture little could be said, circumstances having occurred that were calculated to retard this desirable result, particularly their having been prevailed upon to sell large portions of their lands, which it was greatly feared would be the prelude to the disposal of the whole of their property, and their removing to some remote situation. Yet, discouraging as the prospect appeared, the Committee believed there was yet cause to persevere in this concern, as long as there was prospect of any good resulting to these injured people. The Committee was encouraged to continue their labors with fidelity, and John Comly, Ellis Cleaver and Isaac Parry were released from the committee at their own request.

A memorial from Haddonfield Quarterly Meeting was then read.

Among the expressions of Richard Jordan, recorded in the memorial were these: —

“Oh, what will those men do, that deny the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ! . . . My hope, my only hope for salvation, is in the mercy of God, through the merits and grace of our lord Jesus Christ.”

Upon this, several Friends said they did not unite with the recording of the memorial, as it contained doctrines which they could not acknowledge. Others again expressed their full unity with the memorial, and desired it to be recorded. Previous however, to much being said, Samuel Bettle had made a minute of the reading and recording of it, and when he rose to read his minute, several individuals evinced great agitation and wrath, and clamored violently against him for attempting such a measure. Dr. Robert Moore said

he did not unite with the recording of that memorial because it contained reflections upon a part of the Society, and sentiment and doctrines which he could not approve, and if it was directed to be recorded, it would go down to posterity as the act of the Meeting sanctioning such doctrine. Edmund Shotwell said he did not approve of recording it because it contained reflections against a worthy Friend of another Yearly Meeting, and he did not like these to be recorded on the minutes of our Yearly Meeting. George Truman and Thomas McClintock objected to its being recorded on the ground of the doctrines it contained. The discussion of the doctrines was now fully opened, and Edmund Shotwell said he did not approve of the doctrines it contained, and it would be well for the Meeting to consider, seriously, that if they directed it to be recorded, they sanctioned the doctrines; they then became the doctrines of the Yearly Meeting, a sort of creed to try the ministry by and to regulate our consciences. Dr. Robert Moore again opposed recording it. Cephas Ross said that every man had a right to his own private opinion and, as he had no objection to its being given as Richard Jordan's private opinion, he was humbly resigned to its being recorded. Edmund Shotwell spoke again and said his objection to recording it arose from his respect to Richard Jordan . . . he did not believe Richard Jordan ever said what was contained in that memorial, but he was made to say so by whoever drew up that paper, in order to serve a particular purpose. He was sure Richard Jordan would never wish to have accusations against a valuable and worthy Friend transmitted to posterity with his name to them. He had a better opinion of Richard Jordan. Abraham Lower now came out and said, "It

is very easy to see the bearing and design of this memorial, a certain class of the Society is alluded to, and it is said that the present state of the Society arose from denying the authority of the Scriptures, — now we all know who is alluded to — it's easy to see it, Friends; and as one of the very large number who are meant, I may say that the expressions are as false as they are scandalous — and as the subject of doctrines has been mentioned I will just say the word 'merits' is used — the 'merits of Christ' — meaning, as I understand our being made righteous by virtue of his good deeds. Now, Friends, what does this mean? . . . Where did you ever hear of this word ever being used by any of the ancient Friends? So I hope we shall be careful how we sanction these new things."

John North then mentioned that the word "merits" was used by the ancient Friends and would be found in a declaration of faith in Sewel's History, signed by George Whitehead and a number of other Friends, and that the term; "Merits of Christ" was there used. A friend, probably Thomas Evans, then spoke as follows: "I approve of recording that memorial — and I do sincerely desire that however the warmth of our feelings may prompt us to reflect upon the characters of the living, we may not scandalize the dead. It is not only inconsistent with Christian charity but it is unworthy of a generous mind — I have been pained to hear the deathbed expressions of this dear departed Friend stigmatized as false and scandalous. Such expressions are at once unfit to be uttered in this house, and highly unbecoming the solemnity of the subject. Well would it be if those who have been censuring the language of our dear Friend, would exercise more circumspection over their own words and actions, not

only in this Meeting, but at other times, and happy will it be for us all if we lived as holy a life and could die as triumphant a death as did this worthy Christian. It will be well if those who are cavilling at those doctrines contained in that memorial do not find cause to repent upon a dying bed that they have denied the mediation, atonement, and intercession of that Saviour, who, however we may reject Him on earth will be our impartial judge in heaven." Many Friends now came out in favor of recording the memorial. Scarcely ever was heard so great an expression of unity with any measure adopted by the Meeting. Some hundreds must have spoken. William Evans alluded to remarks made by Abraham Lower on the word "merits," and informed the Meeting that it was the language of our Discipline, which exhorted Friends to bring up their children in the belief of the holy life, mighty miracles, meritorious death, etc., of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Abraham Lower then tried to slip out the expressions he had made and also to explain away the word "meritorious" to something different from merits.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock on Sixth-day morning.

20TH OF THE MONTH, SIXTH DAY OF THE WEEK

Friends again met, pursuant to adjournment. The first business taken up was the consideration of propositions from Abington and Bucks Quarterly Meetings relative to a change in the Discipline in the appointment of Elders, and members of the Meeting for Sufferings. Soon after this was opened John Comly rose and said that considering the present state of the Yearly Meeting, and the probable consequences which must result from a discussion of these topics in the Meeting at large, he would propose that they be re-

turned to the Quarterly Meetings which had brought them up, and that he hoped his brethren without any discussion would quietly agree to this.

The proposition immediately took and from all parts of the house it was echoed, "I unite with John Comly." The principal speakers were of the Liberal party, scarcely a single Friend on the opposite side said anything at all. Cephas Ross objected to making such a disposition of the proposals until we had first tried whether we could agree upon referring them to a committee, for his part he thought we might do so, and go into a calm investigation of them. . . . They were of vital importance to this Society, — more so than any subject which could be agitated among us. The object in bringing them was not to make discord but to promote peace and harmony, and he believed if anything would restore the peace and harmony of the Society and bring us again into the situation we once were in, it was the adoption of these propositions — if we had any hopes of restoring peace, he hoped the propositions would not be given up — but if his dear fathers, his more experienced Friends, had no hope — if they had given up all as a hopeless case and believed that no reconciliation could take place, he then should resign to them — but he had hopes — he had not yet entirely given up, and it was to these propositions that he looked for hope and preservation.

One or two Friends joined him, but they were overruled by their own brethren of the same party, and a minute was made returning both proposals. The next subject was that from Southern Quarterly Meeting, stating that the Meeting for Sufferings had not accepted three of their Representatives in that body, and referring it to the Yearly Meeting for its care and assistance.

When this was read, Dr. Robert Moore proposed that it should be disposed of as the others. This was at once united with and adopted, not by "Orthodox" Friends, for they kept quiet, but by the "Liberals" themselves. Joseph Turner rose and said that while he fully approved of the disposition of this subject in the same manner as the other, yet as the Meeting for Sufferings, in their report on the subject, had made many reflections on Southern Quarterly Meeting and exhibited charges which he believed were unfounded, if the Meeting would think proper, he should like to be indulged in simply stating the facts as they really were. But at the same time, he should entirely submit to the Meeting.

Several of his own party thought it had better be waived for the present. Samuel Bettle remarked that the Friend must have misunderstood the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings if he supposed it was designed to exhibit any unkind charges against them. He believed that there was a disposition generally present in that Meeting to treat Southern Quarterly Meeting as tenderly and kindly as possible, and to make as mild and concise statement of the simple facts as the nature of the case would admit of. A minute was now made referring the subject back, as proposed.

The next business was the request of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting for advice in a case of difficulty. Thomas Kite proposed that this should also be referred back to the Quarterly Meeting, as the others were. To this proposition Friends generally assented, but some appended "that the Quarterly Meeting might do its own business and settle its own difficulties." The Liberals did not like this, for they saw that the

Quarterly Meeting would act upon it and return Leonard Snowdon to his station.* Several of them proposed that it should be simply dropped, without returning it to the Quarter, and stated their belief that if the difficulty was returned, the Quarterly Meeting would be involved in the same unpleasant situation as before. John Comly quieted them by saying that no way opened to appoint a committee at present, and he thought in either way it would amount to the same thing. A minute was then made embracing both expressions — referring it back “to the Quarterly Meeting, no way opening for this Meeting to take any step in it at this time.”

The committee to examine the treasurer’s report now reported. They felt it would not be necessary to direct the raising of any money at this time, there being in the treasurer’s hands \$1,150.63.

The Meeting then adjourned.

SIXTH DAY, 20TH, FOURTH MONTH, 1827

Meeting again assembled.

Josiah Roberts was released at his own request from the Indian Committee. John Comly, having expressed a desire to be released from the appointment to the Meeting for Sufferings, his request was agreed to.

Epistles to New York, Baltimore, Virginia and North Carolina were read and adopted. The first was very sound and clear in its doctrine, and accurately descriptive of the present state of our Society. No objection was made to any of them. The subject of the appoint-

* Leonard Snowdon had been deposed from Eldership by Green Street Meeting, on account of his opposition to Elias Hicks.

ment of three Representatives in the Meeting for Sufferings coming under consideration, it was concluded to refer it over for attention next year.

"Then adjourned to 9 o'clock tomorrow morning."

SEVENTH DAY MORNING, THE 21ST OF THE FOURTH MONTH

The Meeting met pursuant to adjournment.

Henry Hull appeared in solemn supplication, after which some person in the back part of the Meeting made a short speech.

William Wharton arose and began to address the assembly, commenting on the saying of William Penn, that, "Zeal tempered with charity is good, but without it good for nothing." He then indulged in some reflections upon the conduct and principles of some persons, asking them very significantly, what good the soundness of their principles or the purity of their profession would do for them if they lacked charity. He meant not, he said, to accuse one party more than another; he went on to charge some of his brethren, with saying in the language of conduct, if not in words, "Stand by, I am sounder than thou." "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, are *we*." On these expressions he laid much emphasis, and delivered them in a tone and with a manner that evinced whatever zeal he might possess, his mind was not clothed with the most tender or affectionate disposition toward his Friends. He extended his remarks to great length, and apologized for it by saying that he expected he should never attend another Yearly Meeting in that house.

After William Wharton closed, Dr. Robert Moore made an address, in which he touched upon the right of private sentiment which the Society has always

allowed to all its members — that while they made the Holy Scriptures the test of their doctrine, they granted to every individual the right of private interpretation — but that whenever any member undertook to teach any doctrine, he certainly ought to be held accountable for it — and on this simple ground Friends have always stood. That seeing we had arrived at the present awful crisis — separated as we were into parties, he had much desired that the private views of individuals might be so reconciled and accommodated, that we could unite once more harmoniously — but he believed now that this was not attainable — we had arrived at that period in which a separation was necessary and he believed it must and would take place — it was unavoidable. But what he very much desired was, that we might cultivate feelings of charity and goodwill toward each other, so we might be enabled to part in peace and love without any animosity or hatred, but that every thing of kind might be done away, and that no opprobrious epithets should be applied on either side.

Soon after Dr. Moore closed his discourse, Samuel Bettle read the opening minute and proceeded with the reading of the remaining outgoing epistles, to New England, Ohio, Indiana, and London. All passed pretty quietly.

In the London epistle, some remarks were made on the low state of things amongst us and the necessity of “close inward exercise and travail of spirit unto prayer, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith.” To this Abraham Lower objected, saying that the word prayer was so immediately in connection with Jesus, that it would seem to convey the idea that there was more than one Being to whom we were

to offer prayer and adoration — whereas Jesus Himself taught His disciples to pray, “Our Father who art in heaven, etc.”

This called out some expression on that point of doctrine. It was settled very fully and satisfactorily that the Meeting united with the doctrine of the epistle, as it stood. After reading the others and making the minute adopting them, the business appeared to be gone through and Thomas Stewardson was desired to give this information to the Women’s Meeting, also to say that we were likely to close at the present sitting, and to inquire if they had any business that would interest us. He returned in a few minutes with the information that they were engaged in considering a subject which might probably result in such a way as to claim the attention of Men’s Meeting — of this they would inform us. Jonathan Evans proposed that the clerk should proceed with the reading of the minutes until we heard from the Women. The clerk did so, and got through the record of Third-day’s transactions, when Abigail Barker and Jane Peirce entered, and being conducted to the gallery, Abigail Barker informed us that their Meeting has had it weightily spread before it, a concern to appoint a committee to visit the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of the Yearly Meeting. On solid deliberation, they had fully united with it, and believed it right to spread it before Men Friends. In various parts of the house, the Liberals were quickly up to express their disapprobation and many of them spoke in a very unhand-some manner of “our dear Friends on the other side of the house,” and of their concern. Edmund Shotwell said it had not originated with the Women — he had heard of it two months ago. He had heard that such

a committee was to be appointed, and he did not believe he should have heard anything about it if nothing of the kind had been contemplated — he believed it had all been contrived and planned beforehand, and as to its originating in the Women's Meeting, he believed that was a mere pretence or a cover.

Several said they thought the women had better leave the Meeting and suffer it to close in quietness — that the sense of the Meeting had been sufficiently expressed — that it was evident it could not be united with, and that they wondered to see such attempts to force it upon the Meeting; that they were very sorry it had been opened at all, because they thought in consequence of it, we should not part with such good feelings. One said he wished the women would leave the Meeting and learn to mind their own business. Another said their conduct in proposing it to Men Friends was contrary to the Discipline. Thus they made themselves angry and uncomfortable almost as soon as the concern was opened and before time had been allowed for a solid sense and judgment to be come to, they rising to speak so quickly one after another, as nearly to deprive Friends of any opportunity of giving their sentiments.

Israel W. Morris was the first Friend who spoke favorably to the matter, and he did it in a feeling manner, fully uniting with the concern. Several followed him, which seemed to increase the wrath of the Liberals, who said a good deal about forcing it over the heads of so many.

John Cox now rose, and said that the concern was a very important one, and that he hoped that time would be given to consider it well; that other Friends had been very quiet while such as were opposed to the

measure were expressing their views, and he hoped now they would give time to other Friends to speak their minds. After a few minutes' pause, the opposers came out again in considerable force, some of them speaking many times over, which made the number appear very large. Many Friends were intimidated by the noise raised against the concern; others said they did not doubt it had originated in best wisdom, but had doubts as to the propriety of going into it now. This had a very discouraging effect on many others. John Cox now said that he thought the mind if the Meeting had been sufficiently expressed, and it seemed evident we could not unite with it. Isaac Bonsal expressed similar views, and seemed quite to give the matter up. Jonathan Evans said, "It has been remarked that there was not unity enough in the Meeting to proceed with the concern, but however the expression which has appeared may be considered as the sense and judgment of the Meeting, or whether any way has opened to proceed in it at this time; I believe the concern is owned by that unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

Although during this time a number of Friends had expressed their approbation of the appointment of a committee, still it was strongly urged by some that the subject should be wholly dismissed and the Meeting closed. Israel W. Morris remarked that he was not prepared to give the matter up, and he really believed that considering the state of the Yearly Meeting that it would not be doing its duty to its subordinate meetings without the appointment of such a committee. He also made some allusion to the hints which had been given of the probability of a separation. Charles Evans then said he thought it right to inform

the Yearly Meeting that a number of individuals had held a meeting last evening at Green Street Meeting House, in which an address which had been previously prepared, was read and it was agreed that it be sent down to the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, signed by some of the Representatives. The meeting was styled, "A meeting of many of the Representatives of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and other Friends convened at Green Street, etc." It was proposed and agreed upon, to appoint a committee to carry down the address to the smaller meetings and into families, and to explain the nature and necessity of the measure. He recognized in the countenances of those who were opposing the measure now before this Meeting, the same individuals who attended that meeting and took an active part in its proceedings, and some of them were the very persons agreed upon to sign that address.

This information seemed to electrify the whole assembly and produced a momentary stir throughout the house. There was an expression of disapprobation of the disclosures. Some wished Friends would keep to the business before the Meeting, etc. A Friend, probably Thomas Evans, remarked that in considering the important subject introduced into this Meeting by our Women Friends, he had been induced to take a view of the situation of the Yearly Meeting as we had heard it described during the course of its sittings, and if other motions were wanting for believing the concern to have originated in Divine Wisdom, surely the condition we are said to be in was of itself sufficient to convince any mind of the necessity of appointing the proposed committee. "But a few days ago we were told by a Friend who now sits at the table that the Meeting was divided into two *distinct, irreconcilable*

parties . . . mark the words, Friends, *irreconcilable* parties. . . . During the present sitting another Friend has informed us from the gallery, that the time has fully come when a separation *must and would* take place — and exhorted us to part from each other with feelings of love and charity. We are now told that a separate Society has actually been set up — that an address to Friends of this Yearly Meeting, promoting such a separation has been agreed upon and signed by persons who have been chosen Representatives to this Meeting and that the proposition has been acceded to, to appoint a committee to carry this address down to the families of Friends. These are important facts. With this separation I can have no unity. I have no desire to associate myself with any other society than that in which I have been educated and brought up. . . . With the Discipline and doctrines of that Society I am perfectly satisfied — they accord with my sincere and conscientious belief — I want no other. . . . I am well contented with the faith and principles of my predecessors. . . . I hold liberty of conscience to be an invaluable right. . . . It is a precious privilege and I wish it ever to be preserved inviolate to every member. I would not do the least act to encroach upon it. I can truly say that I entertain a conscientious respect for the opinions of all my brethren and have no desire whatever to coerce them, and if any are dissatisfied with the principles or government of the Society of Friends, they have an undoubted right to withdraw. I am, however not a little surprised at the conduct of several who are here. While they loudly claim liberty of conscience for themselves, they are not willing to grant the same privilege to others. It is really surprising, that persons who have separated from us and

set up a new and distinct society should not be content with managing the affairs of their own, but should appear here, and attempt to control the concerns of the Society of Friends. . . . I wish we may do as we would be done by and not attempt to engross to ourselves the active control and management of two distinct societies at once, — and inasmuch as they have withdrawn from us and set up a new and distinct association, they may be contented with managing the affairs of that and leave the Society of Friends the control of its own business and concerns. Circumstanced as the Yearly Meeting is, it appears to me that it cannot discharge the duty which it undoubtedly owes to its inferior meetings without going into the proposed appointment. I fully believe that the concern of our Women's Meeting has had a right origin, and I readily believe that the care and attention of such a committee may prove the means of saving not only individuals but many small meetings, from being carried off by this separating spirit. I approve of such a committee being appointed." Several Friends expressed their approbation of the appointment.

Dr. Robert Moore said, "The observations which I made relative to a separation have been considered treasonable in some remarks, since made by a Friend. I believe I did not say that a time has come when a separation *must* take place. I cannot be sure, but I think I said it *would* take place, and this is my sincere belief. I feel we cannot remain together any longer, and that a separation *will* take place; we cannot continue one body. But those who know me best know that I have always striven to reconcile the two parties, to bring peace and harmony, and to prevent the necessity of a separation. I do not approve of it, though I fully believe it will take place now."

Thomas Wistar said, "The information conveyed to the Meeting by Charles Evans is of a very serious character and ought to claim the attention of the Yearly Meeting. If a committee has been appointed by any separate meeting of persons, to visit the members and families of this Yearly Meeting, as was stated to be the case, the subject is one of far more importance to us than the concern of our Women Friends." Edmund Shotwell replied to the remarks which had been made just before, saying that he approved of many of the sentiments expressed and hoped they would be observed by all, — for his part he thought if there were any persons present who had established or joined a new society, he for one hoped they would not take any part in the business of this; but he did not believe there was any person present who had any such idea.

John Comfort said that we would just inform the Meeting that as regards the appointment of the committee that was alluded to, there was not the shadow of a foundation for it — no such committee had been appointed.

Charles Evans again rose and said, "As the statement which I made has been contradicted and my veracity impeached, I shall now state that the proposition to appoint such a committee was made by John Comly — that he remarked the Representatives could carry the address to the Quarterly Meetings, but that it was necessary that a large committee should be named to carry it to the families and explain the nature and necessity of the measure — that the proposition was assented to, but owing to the lateness of the hour, the committee was not appointed.

"Their meeting adjourned to meet at the rise of this sitting of the Yearly Meeting, when John Comly in-

formed them he should have several very important matters to bring before them — and now as my statement has been denied, I call upon John Comly to come forward and say whether what I have stated is not correct. I think it is due from him, as he has it in his power so easily to clear me from the imputation which has so unjustly been cast upon me.” John Comly made no reply. Edward Bettle now supported Charles Evans, and stated that it would be in vain to attempt to deny his account. It was well known that the meeting had been held — the address agreed upon, and that forty-six Representatives gave in their names to sign it on behalf of the new society. It was already the formation of a new society.

The remarks just made and the information given seemed to give the Liberals little room to say much, and a large number of the most solid Friends now came forward in support of the appointment of the committee. Hinchman Haines said it was a pity if those who were going, could not allow us to extend a little care toward such as chose to stay. Samuel Bettle said that when the subject was first opened by our Women Friends he almost regretted to hear it mentioned, but as it had continued before the Meeting, it appeared to him to gather strength, and now he believed the time had come for going into the appointment. Stephen Grellet and many others made similar remarks. Thomas P. Cope said there could be no doubt that any individual had the right to withdraw from the Society of Friends, whenever he thought proper — but having done so, it would certainly be very unreasonable that he should wish to continue active in the Society from which he had thus withdrawn, and not being satisfied with his own liberty of conscience, seek to control the

consciences of others. He concluded with approving the appointment of a committee. Samuel Comfort now hoped that such as might not approve of the appointment would submit to it — for his part he was entirely willing it should be appointed, and hoped the nomination would be left to those who approved of the measure. This sentiment was supported by numerous voices. The clerk having made a minute, the women withdrew, and the following Friends were appointed, viz: Hinchman Haines, Thomas Wistar, Thomas Stewardson, Jonathan Evans, Samuel Bettle, Edward Temple, Christopher Healy, Benjamin Cooper, John Comfort (Solebury), Abraham Pennell and William Newbold.

Samuel Comfort remarked that he had heard it said any individual had a right to withdraw from the Society and to perform worship in such way as he thought right. And surely if one had a right to do so, a number had the same right — and he would have Friends encouraged to leave all — their friends and connections however dear they might have been — and reputation and property and everything else — give up all and sit down to worship the Almighty in silence — and as this was the case he believed they would be strengthened and preserved — though there might be but two or three that might meet together or only a single individual, in their own houses, yet as they persevered, he hoped they would be willing to give up all property and reputation and name and everything else. Our early Friends did so, and amidst all their difficulties and hardships and persecutions they had to suffer, how they prospered and increased! He believed it would be so now if Friends were brought into that

humble, lowly state in which they could freely give up all.

Several similar speeches were made. The clerk proceeded with the reading of the minutes, after which a solemn pause ensued — the silence was profound — the solemnity touching and impressive — not a sound was heard in all the Meeting.

Samuel Bettle at length said very tenderly that this was a very serious moment — he hoped we might all feel it properly. After a few minutes Christopher Healy very solemnly repeated the passage from Revelation, "Great and marvelous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are all thy ways, thou King of saints. Who shall not worship thee and fear before thy name?"

Samuel Bettle read the concluding minute, as follows, "Having through the condescending goodness of the Head of the Church, who is a present help in every needful time, been enabled to transact the important concerns that have come before us, the Meeting concludes to meet again at the usual time next year, if the Lord permit." (End of the account of Yearly Meeting.)

Both "Liberals" and "Orthodox" claimed to be the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, the former on the ground of having the greater number of members (about two-thirds of the whole), and the latter because they continued to meet at the time, in the same house, to which the Yearly Meeting had regularly adjourned. Both of them claimed to assent to the same Christian doctrines which the early Friends believed and taught.

OTHER MEETINGS

During the Week

As already noted, a group of Friends met three times, on the 19th, 20th and 21st of Fourth Month, to consider what course should be followed, and whether or not a withdrawal from Arch Street should take place. Friends present generally agreed that it should. On Fourth Month, 20th, John Comly produced an epistle explaining the action to be taken. John Hunt advised centering down to know the mind of Truth. Jacob Ritter declared the right of private judgment. Jesse Kersey proposed that Friends keep to the subject before the Meeting. William Gibbons and Benjamin Ferris were at the table. Thomas Berry thought the time for withdrawal from Arch Street had not come. John Comly suggested that the epistle should be signed by such as were free to do so. Much reluctance to sign was shown. Isaac Hatch, of New York, said it had been revealed to him that the epistle was a right measure. The address was left at the home of Samuel Noble, for signatures.

GATHERING AT GREEN STREET

On Seventh-day, the 21st of Fourth Month, following the adjournment of the Yearly Meeting, a group of Friends again met at Green Street Meeting House, which was about one-third filled. Stephen Comfort gave a hortatory address. Edward Hicks said, "We are not withdrawing from the Society of Friends."

John Comly proposed that the address drawn up and agreed upon the evening before, should be signed by Representatives and circulated. Jesse Kersey advised caution in the wording of the address. Some changes were made. There was difficulty in securing names of signers. People were coming in almost all the time the meeting lasted. Adjourned at 5 P.M. to the first Second-day in Sixth Month at Green Street, at 10 o'clock.

The Visiting Committee appointed at the last session of the Yearly Meeting at Arch Street began their service, attending all the Quarterly Meetings except Southern, where apparently there was no openness to receive them. Their reception varied. In some meetings their minutes were read, and they were treated with some respect. In others it was far different. At Radnor Monthly Meeting while Jonathan Evans was speaking, a young man arose, and in a loud, abrupt manner said to him, "Thee had better sit down! It is well known that thee has long been the vice-regent of satan." To this Jonathan Evans made no reply.

A recommendation signed by Jonathan Evans and Hinchman Haines, a minister of a New Jersey Meeting, was promptly addressed to all Monthly Meetings, suggesting that they should visit and seek to reclaim all those who had sided with the Yearly Meeting held at Green Street, and failing to win them back, such members should be disowned, having been informed withal of their right of appeal. This course was very generally complied with, as the Monthly Meeting minute books of 1828, 1829 and 1830, abundantly testify. There was one exception. Nathan Bartlett, an Elder of Tuckerton Monthly Meeting, New Jersey, said, "Friends, we are too few to separate." Country

meeting houses were generally but, not in every case, taken possession of by "Hicksite" Friends, they being in a majority. "Orthodox" Friends often met in school houses or private homes, until a small meeting house could be built. In some cases the two branches of Friends occupied the same building, meeting on opposite sides of a partition. In Philadelphia the reverse was true, all the meeting houses, except Green Street and that at Frankford, just outside the city limits remained with the "Orthodox". Arch Street Friends retained possession of Westtown School, the Friends' Asylum, and the Indian School at Tunnesassa, New York.

A periodical named *The Friend*, the earliest of many similar publications, made its appearance in Tenth Month, 1827. Its purpose was both religious and literary. During its first few years it was strongly partisan on the side of the "Orthodox". Another publication called, *The Friend*, or *Advocate of Truth*, upheld the cause of Liberal Friends. A few years later "Orthodox" Friends founded Haverford School, which later became Haverford College, where a more advanced education than Westtown offered, could be obtained.

CAMDEN TRIAL

In 1828, a legal decision was sought which might determine the ownership of all property of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, since both parties claimed title to it. A trial was held in Camden, New Jersey (1830-31). Decision was not reached until 1832, and it was then given in favor of the Orthodox. Two volumes of testimony, some parts dry and tedious, others lively and important, are found in Foster's Report of the Court proceedings.

Elias Hicks was personally present at the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Liberal Friends in 1828. In this same year, separations occurred in New York, Indiana, Ohio and Baltimore. Elias took an active part in the session at New York. He was also in Ohio, but was not present at the stormy session when the division actually took place. Jonathan Evans was also in Ohio. While attending the Meeting for Sufferings, he was taken ill. On reaching Jonathan Taylor's home where forty guests were lodged, he found it needful to lie down. Chill and fever succeeded. Dr. Parker was sent for. He found Jonathan Evans' pulse high and took twelve ounces of blood and gave calomel and calcined magnesia. The patient kept his bed all Second-day, and thus missed the riot in the Yearly Meeting. By Fourth-day he was able to attend a committee meeting at 8 o'clock, and the Yearly Meeting at 10, although he still had a heavy cold and would have preferred to be at home. He reported much preaching at meetings, and that business was conducted in a blundering manner.

A few months later, on the 27th of Second Month, 1829, Hannah Evans died after a long illness in which her suffering was often extreme. Her last words were "Trust in the Lord". Being of a sunny and cheerful disposition she bore her trials with resignation. For Jonathan Evans who tended to be sober, retired, even austere, she was for forty-three years an ideal companion. She is reported to have said in the course of her twenty-eight years of ministry, "I cannot preach, if they won't let me laugh." After her decease her husband remarked "I am married to her grave."

Jonathan Evans found some alleviation for his grief in helping to edit the Life of Richard Jordan. At this

time being often unwell with cold and other ailments he requested to be released from the clerkship of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders. He still served frequently as executor in the settlement of estates. He often visited his married children, especially those who lived in the country, at Springfield, and Marple, Pennsylvania. He was very regular in his habits, and when at home, as the clock struck nine, a tidy Irish maid would appear bringing a lighted candle and vessel of cold water, and he would retire for the night. He was the owner of two tall clocks; the one made by Thomas Stretch he kept at the Union Street home, and the other, the work of David Rittenhouse, was at the home of his son Joseph, in the country. All his life he kept to knee-breeches, long stockings, and buckled shoes. His broad-brimmed hat was customarily bent up at the back, perhaps in memory of the three cornered hats of the earlier generation. His long coats had side pockets, wide enough to carry Purver's folio Bible and a perennial supply of spiced nuts and raisins for children, of whom he was very fond. His pet name — for my father was "little captain".

On the 27th, II Mo., 1830 Elias Hicks died.

At Westtown School the attendance of children having fallen off, due no doubt to the withdrawal of patronage by Liberal Friends, the Yearly Meeting decided in 1830 to reduce the charge of tuition for children of its own members to \$60 per annum. Solicitation was also undertaken for funds to help pay for the children of parents who required aid.

Although arrived at an age when esteem and respect would seem to have been his due, Jonathan Evans still suffered attack for his part in the separation.

John Gest, a Liberal sympathizer, published in a Philadelphia newspaper, *The Sun*, in 1833, ten letters filled with serious charges. These were collected two years later in pamphlet form with the title: "The cause, rise and progress of the late unhappy division of the Society of Friends explained, and the mystery unfolded, as in its progress was developed, made manifest and published to the world, in sundry letters TO JONATHAN EVANS, the head and artful prime mover of the disorganizers who commenced and sustained the division. . . ." Among the accusations it was charged that Jonathan Evans, Samuel Bettle, Richard Jordan and Joseph Whitall were, or had been, Freemasons, and had taken Masonic Oaths. There is however no trustworthy evidence that any of these Friends belonged to the Masonic Fraternity, or had any sympathy with such organizations. Apparently Jonathan Evans never replied to these letters.

During the decade after the separation the Society of Friends in Philadelphia, and indeed all over the United States, was in a crippled and forlorn condition. On the one hand, there was the promulgation of unscriptural views, and on the other, insistence upon the acceptance of creedal statements instead of reliance on the leadings and teachings of God's Holy Spirit in the hearts of men. The realization of this situation saddened the closing years of Jonathan Evans. He wrote " . . . As a Society we have been raised up to bear a true testimony to the purity and spirituality of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, separate from all outward ceremonies and dependencies. This, as it came to prevail in its faithful witnesses, showed itself in the crucifixion of the aspiring spirit, and any assumed excellence of the crea-

ture, laying low everything that would tend to exalt or puff up the mind with an imaginary conceit of its own abilities and superior attainments, and to attend sincerely upon the intimations and instructions of the Holy Spirit from day to day.

"But, Ah! how the state of things changed! Now we are to look for shining qualities, great proficiency in human literature, and a different interpretation of scripture passages; be made to believe, that what we have known and felt to be the language and guidance of the Holy Spirit to us, is to be considered only as of an outward meaning. . . . A dry doctrinal ministry, however sound in words, can reach but the ear, and is only a dream at best."

In 1836 Jonathan Evans began the work of editing the life of his friend, the minister William Savery.

A second trial over the tenure of property was begun in Trenton, New Jersey. Again the decision was in favor of the Orthodox. Each side bore its share of the cost of litigation. As at Camden the Liberal Friends declined to answer any question having to do with doctrines, on the grounds that a temporal court had no jurisdiction in such matters. Still later (1835) a bill was introduced into the Legislature of New Jersey, which bill would divide the property between Orthodox and Liberals but this failed to pass.

In 1833 the Discipline of Arch Street Yearly Meeting was revised, and a militia bill was opposed in the Pennsylvania Legislature.

In England a Friend named Isaac Crewdson (1780-1844), a minister, published in 1835 a treatise entitled, "*A Beacon for the Society of Friends.*" The tendency of this book was to discount reliance upon immediate revelation, and enthrone the Bible as the one source of faith and knowledge. In America as well as England

The Beacon created a considerable stir, and Friends were divided in their opinions about it. The debates became bitter, and many individuals quit the Society of Friends in consequence. Among these, was a prominent Friend and scientist, Luke Howard, remembered as the author of the names we still apply to the different types of clouds; cumulus, cirrus, nimbus and the rest.

In 1837 Joseph John Gurney, younger brother of Elizabeth Fry, entered upon a two year visit to Friends in America. In England he had shown considerable sympathy with Isaac Crewdson and his writings. The following letter from Jonathan Evans to John Wilbur, of Rhode Island, will indicate his sentiments in regard to Joseph John Gurney and his American mission:

Philadelphia, 9th mo., 11th, 1837.

DEAR FRIEND, JOHN WILBUR,

I received thy letter, and am glad to find that there are some yet left, who are not carried away by the stream of popularity and fashionable opinions, which now seems threatening to overwhelm our poor, tried religious Society. Oh, the want of weight and depth which is strikingly evident in our meetings, both for worship and discipline. When met to transact the affairs of the Church, what a cringing and crouching to those noted for much worldly wisdom, and abundance of the riches of this world; so that, indeed, the pure influence of the Spirit is seldom sought after or expected; it being considered only mysticism or, at best, but undefined imaginary sensations, not safe to follow; and that which the Lord hath determined a death upon, is kept alive, and made the chief

agent in conducting the concerns of Society, which, if rightly understood, is surely the Lord's business. The conduct of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders in London, is really very affecting. This man, J. J. Gurney, because he has written much, is considered very learned, highly polished, and an acute reasoner; and being very rich, and living in high style, is greatly caressed, and esteemed almost a prodigy among us. I have perused a great deal of his writings, and have been sorely distressed at the darkness and confusion which is almost inseparable from their contents.

The Hebrew and Greek languages being very limited, one word in them will sometimes embrace several significations, some of which will be in entire contrast to others; this he has caught at, and then made use of these opposite senses to vary the present translation of the Scriptures, to promote his purpose in undervaluing and contradicting the solid sense and judgment of our ancient Friends, that he may more readily introduce and propagate Episcopalian doctrines. He tries to make out that the eating of the flesh, and drinking the blood of Christ, means a belief in the incarnation, thus lowering down that deep experience and blessed fellowship in spirit with the Lord Jesus, in his baptisms and sufferings, to a mere assent of the human mind — that the gospel which is preached in, or to every human being, means the outward preaching of the gospel doctrines, that is the declaration of the atonement of Christ; that the name of Jesus does not signify his power, but only to ask of the Father that he would grant our petitions because of his beloved Son, Jesus Christ; that therefore, we need not look for the

immediate influence of the Spirit as a qualification to pray, but to push forward into this offering whenever we incline to it; and many other changes he makes which I can call by no other name than perversions. He endeavors to make out that our primitive Friends were under mistaken views; in order that he may, with more facility, lay waste our attachment to the doctrines and testimonies they held, and prepare us to embrace new schemes which will be more acceptable to the unregenerate man; liberate us from the mortifying operation of the cross of Christ, and cause us, as a Society, to be more respected by the carnal, superficial professors of religion in the several denominations.

Early after his arrival, the elders of this city being called together, he mentioned that he had a prospect of a general public meeting for Third-day evening, which several of the elders were disposed to allow of; this I could not feel easy with, and made my objections in his presence; but next morning, as he limited his design to the members only, they acceded to it. Having so fully expressed my disapprobation of a meeting, in the before-mentioned interview, I did not attend their second meeting, nor the public meeting. There appear to be many who will doubtless be caught with his politeness, his affability, and his seeming accordance with our religious tenets; but before he can be received as a minister in unity, he ought to condemn the sentiments and doctrines contained in his writings, and give indubitable evidence of humbling submission and sincere abiding under the purifying baptism of the Holy Ghost, and fire, which would make him humble, simple, and perhaps give him to see that he has never yet been

stripped of his own righteousness, as to be called to, and qualified for the work of the ministry. (Here J. E. inserts an extract from Thomas Shillitoe's dying testimony.)

I hope the Friends in New England will be on their guard against, and not be taken by plausible outward appearance, or the flourish of oratory, but endeavor to keep to the inward sense and feeling which the Holy Head of the Church will, no doubt, graciously grant to his sincere humble followers, even under the depth of close trial and besetment. There are a few here, who as they cannot unite with his sentiments and doctrines, are narrowly watched, and thus they find it necessary to be very cautious; hoping that it may please the Lord, not only to preserve them in faithfulness, but that, in due time, he may make it manifest that the cause and testimony of Truth has been their only aim, and the fervent desire of their souls.

As J. J. G. was almost continuously surrounded with company of various kinds, and but a very few days in the city, I believe that no private opportunity was taken with him. Although some of his advocates endeavor to make out that his intended visit was almost unanimously approved in the meeting which liberated him, yet the published account states that the numbers on each side were nearly balanced.

In love, I remain thy friend,

Jonathan Evans.

(From the Life of John Wilbur, p. 228.)

John Wilbur, who was thus addressed, had by tongue and pen opposed the novel opinions of Gurney, and had interviewed him, without any concessions on Gurney's part. A majority of New England Friends sided with Gurney, and after much altercation on both sides, John Wilbur was disowned, and a separation — the first of several — took place in New England in 1845. The following letter of Joseph John Gurney explains his stand. (Note. This separation and the writing of Gurney's letter belong to the period following the death of Jonathan Evans.)

LETTER FROM JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY

To the Editors of *The Friend* (*London*)

Earlham, near Norwich,

Twelfth Month, 17th, 1845.

Understanding that inquiries have been made by various individuals, whether I did not intend to reply to John Wilbur's book, I think it right thus publicly to state that I have no such intention. I should consider that I was travelling entirely out of my record, were I to attempt to answer the accusations made against me by an individual, who, in consequence of his setting at defiance the good order established amongst us, has been separated from the Society by his Monthly Meeting, and whose disownment has since been confirmed by the solid and deliberate judgment of the Yearly Meeting, of which he was a member. In fact, I have never felt at liberty even to look into his book; having long had reason to believe that he was indulging in a wrong spirit, and having often witnessed the verification of the old proverb,

"Whoso toucheth pitch shall be defiled thereby."

Since, however, his numerous charges against me have been read by many, I think it right to say, that if any Friend of weight and consistency, will furnish me, in writing, with such passages from my works as he or she may consider unsatisfactory, (duly signed of course), although I believe there is *nothing* in my writings at variance with the truth as it has always been professed by Friends, yet I should consider it my duty to take an early opportunity of laying such communication before the Morning Meeting in London, the body which, according to our wholesome system of discipline, is constitutionally authorized to judge of such matters.

Should any passages objected to, occur in the works which have already passed that Meeting, I cannot doubt that the Friends belonging to it will deem it right again to sift those particular passages; and that they will not hesitate to examine whether those selected from my other works (which, being of a general nature, were not within the province of the Morning Meeting,) are, or are not, consistent with the acknowledged principles of our religious Society.

In case of that meeting's not being satisfied with the explanations which I may be enabled to offer of the passages thus submitted to their consideration, it is my full intention to modify them, strike them out, or even publicly renounce them, in whole or in part, as the Meeting may think proper to advise.

In expressing this intention, I wish it to be clearly understood that my sentiments on essential points

are in no degree changed since the date even of my earliest publications; and nothing, I trust, would induce me to sacrifice one particle of the "truth as it is in Jesus", to please or satisfy any man or body of men whatsoever. But I am fully convinced that our Friends of the Morning Meeting are as much attached both to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and to the distinguishing views and practices of Friends, as I am myself; and I have a deep consciousness of my own weakness and fallibility. It certainly cannot be said of my writings, (or perhaps of any other man who has written since the days of apostles,) that there are not passages in them which might be improved, simplified, corrected; or even entirely omitted with advantage to the reader, as being confusing — to some minds at least — the sense which they were intended to convey.

I make this proposal, as I trust, in the spirit of submission and brotherly love, and in the earnest desire to promote that harmony and unity among us, which it is one of the most subtle and cruel devices of the enemy of souls to break and destroy.

I shall be obliged by your inserting this letter in the next number of *The Friend*.

And remain your sincere friend,

J. J. Gurney

(From *The Friend*, (London), 1846, Vol. IV,9.)

In 1837 Pennsylvania Hall, which had been built in Philadelphia by Friends and others who were interested in the abolition of slavery, and other liberal

causes, was burned by a mob. John G. Whittier, at that time resident in Philadelphia, and who had his belongings in that hall, disguised himself, mingled with the mob, and plundered his own desk.

DEATH OF JONATHAN EVANS

Jonathan Evans acted as clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings in 1838 for the last time. The following account of his last illness and death are found in the journal of his son William.

“My dear and honored father had been in a declining state of health for several months, and on Fourth-day, the 30th of last month, (First Month, 1839) had a severe chill. Though he came downstairs on the following morning, and attempted to eat breakfast, he found himself too much prostrated in strength to remain, and accordingly returned to his bed; which he left but little until removed by death. It being proposed to call in a consulting physician (Dr. Hartshorne), he declined, saying that at his time of life it was not probable he should continue here long, and he was entirely satisfied with what his son, Dr. Charles Evans, the attending physician, might do for him. He daily grew weaker, until he departed, on Sixth-day morning the 8th of Second Month, 1839, a little after eight o’clock. He was nursed by his children, who watched him with much solicitude. One morning when asked (by his son, Charles) how he was, he replied, “Very quiet — very quiet, but very weak.” I remarked, it was a trial to have those removed, at this time, who have long stood in defence of the Truth. He rejoined, “I have felt a great deal on that account, a great deal. I am satisfied there is a spirit at work which would lay waste the ancient profession and doctrines of our Society, and draw Friends away from the spirituality of that which they have

once known; and many are caught with it." During the first three days of his confinement, his mind appeared to be under exercise, and though, as was usual with him, he said little of his own exercises, I believe he was introduced into a very humbling view of himself, and made sensible of the frailties which pertain to man; and that it is only through Divine mercy, after we have done the will of God, that we are accepted at last. He became settled in a holy confidence; being gathered and centered to the sure foundation, Christ Jesus, the hope of the saints' glory. He endured with patience the infirmities produced by advanced age and disease; alluding with much serenity to his approaching close; and the peacefulness and heavenly settlement which were felt, gave evidence that his eye was firmly fixed on the eternal recompense, laid up in store for those who follow the Lamb of God, whithersoever He leadeth. He retained the use of his faculties to the last, and expired without any struggle, or change of feature."

The funeral attendance of Friends at 322 Union Street, was very large, including some who had separated. Ezra Comfort, Christopher Healy, Thomas Kite, Elizabeth Pitfield and Sarah Hillman were with the family in the front room. Ezra Comfort particularly addressed the grandchildren. At the graveyard, Fourth and Arch Streets, Thomas Evans spoke a few words.

* * *

The will of Jonathan Evans was dated the 23rd of First Month, 1839. Settlement of the estate shows assets of

\$43,376.71

Debts and expenses

3,405.24

Distributed to his children

\$39,971.47

Three of his children, William Evans, Thomas Evans and Hannah Evans Rhoads were ministers. Ten descendants have also been ministers. Eight of his descendants have been clerks of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Arch Street, on the men's or women's side. A reunion of his descendants, numbering about two hundred, was held at Springfield Meeting House, Springfield, near Media, Pennsylvania, on the 22nd of Ninth Month, 1928.

ADDENDA

CONCLUSIONS

From the evidence which I have been able to collect, the following deductions are submitted, not as proved theses, but as conclusions which seem to accord with the facts, so far as they are now known.

VISITING ENGLISH MINISTERS

It is true that Thomas Shillitoe and George Withy, as well as Stephen Grellet, had their early education outside the Quaker fold, and consequently may have retained in their theology some inherited luggage. The same is not true of George and Ann Jones, Isaac Stevenson, William Forster, Anna Braithwaite and Elizabeth Robson, (the larger number), all of whom were birthright Friends, and may be assumed to have preached doctrines received through their Quaker education, or by conviction. Of these ministers Anna Braithwaite alone became ultra-evangelical. Of the rest, Thomas Shillitoe, George and Ann Jones and Elizabeth Robson, not only disapproved of the ultra-evangelical movement, which was spreading in England, but opposed it.

Since these English visitors, like the early Friends, preached both the historic Christ, and the Christ of inward experience, (a balanced Christian message, much needed at that time), it seems unwarranted to blame them as active agents in fomenting disunity among American Friends. Whether in all cases they used Christian tact, is another question.

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF PRIMITIVE FRIENDS

The pamphlet with this title, prepared by a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, in 1822 and read at the Yearly Meeting in 1823, has already been alluded to as having caused a near riot. It was indeed vulnerable, in that it gave no indication of the sources from which the selections were taken, and was therefore under suspicion of having been doctored or garbled. Also the *Light Within*, although several times mentioned, was not emphasized. On the other hand the offering of Christ on the cross, his divinity and offices, were magnified. Although faithfully taken from works well approved by Friends in the past, the Extracts, having been chosen to stem the tide of unorthodoxy, raised the so-called orthodox doctrine into a prominence somewhat out of balance. An effort to eliminate unsoundness coloured the work. Although true, the Extracts were somewhat one-sided, but charges of dishonest selection are unfounded. So also appears to be the suggestion that the aim of the Extracts was to put teeth into the control of Ministers by Elders. The purpose of the Extracts was simply to state Friends' belief upon the subjects treated.

Opposition to the Extracts stemmed chiefly from the dislike felt by Liberals toward any dogma or any theological statement. In minds inclined to rationalism, the Extracts found a cold reception.

MAJORITIES

About two-thirds of the members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting withdrew from their Arch Street connection. However, the larger number of Ministers and Elders remained.

In New York, a still larger proportion of the members joined with Liberal Friends, and in Baltimore an even greater percentage did so. In Ohio the two groups were about equal. Friends in New England and in North Carolina did not separate.* In England, where also there was no separation, sympathy was with the Orthodox and in the world at large the greater number of Friends favoured the Orthodox.

TRINITY

The word "trinity" is nowhere found in the Bible. Also the text, "There are three that bare record in heaven; the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one," (I John 5:7) while often quoted by early Friends, is now believed to have been a later interpolation, and not to have been part of the original text.

As Christians, Friends believe in one God. Beside him there is no Saviour. To this truth Isaiah, Jesus, Peter, Paul and Jude all bear witness. Therefore we cannot believe in a scholastic trinity of "three distinct and separate Persons." Jesus said, "I and my Father are one." Again he said, "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father."

As Jesus is properly spoken of as Saviour, and as there is no Saviour but God only, therefore Jesus, beside being true man, is rightly spoken of as, "The Word made flesh," the word which was in the beginning with God, and was God. As a true man, Jesus prayed, suffered and died. As God he did not die. Even his body saw no corruption.

The Holy Spirit, or Inward Light, proceeding from

* There was however a small separation on the island of Nantucket.

God, as the sunlight in the natural world proceeds from the sun, is God manifesting himself. It is the grace of God, which bringing salvation, appears to all men. God, Christ and Holy Spirit are never separated. One is never present alone. There is but one God over all, blessed forever.

ELDERS' CARE OVER MINISTERS

It will not be denied that one duty of Elders, and it is an important responsibility, is to watch over Ministers and to counsel them in their ministry. Whether this care may be exercised over Ministers of another Yearly Meeting has been questioned. Apparently there are few instances in which this authority has been used.

However at least two cases may be cited. English Friends treated with Hannah Barnard, a Minister from New York. And in America, Halliday Jackson and three other Elders of Concord Quarterly Meeting, Pennsylvania, sent a letter of protest and advice to Ann Jones, a Minister from England.

The attempt made in 1822 by certain Philadelphia Elders to question Elias Hicks, would seem to parallel these.

ORTHODOX "OPPRESSIONS"

The chief complaints of Liberal Friends against Orthodox Friends may be listed as follows:

1. Effort to impose a creed.
2. Refusal to decide according to the will of the majority.
3. Action of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting in seeking to exercise control over Green Street Monthly Meeting.
4. Opposition to Ministers.

5. Appointment of committee consisting entirely of Orthodox Friends, to visit subordinate meetings.

6. Refusal of the Meeting for Sufferings to seat two new appointees from Southern Quarterly Meeting.

7. Failure of the Yearly Meeting to act upon requests for advice sent in by different Quarters in cases of difficulty.

8. Resort to law.

9. Refusal to divide property in proportion to membership.

10. Disownment.

In connection with these complaints it ought to be noticed:

First. That the so-called creed was not *forced* upon the Yearly Meeting. It came up in the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings. Three courses were then open, (1) To adopt it. (2) To reject it. (3) To defer action. The Yearly Meeting decided upon the last course. What injustice was there to this? Had the Meeting for Sufferings a right to prepare the Extracts? Answer, Undoubtedly yes. By allowing the Extracts to remain upon the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, did the Yearly Meeting adopt or sanction them? Answer, Unquestionably no. It simply left the matter.

Second. To decide by majorities is against Friends' basic principle. It is contrary to their ancient practice. To have voted would be to abandon their Christian belief in Divine guidance.

Third. The Discipline to which both sides owed loyalty, makes the Quarterly Meeting superior to the Monthly Meeting in authority. If a Monthly Meeting judges itself aggrieved by a decision of its Quarterly Meeting, it may appeal to the Yearly Meeting. When a Monthly or Quarterly Meeting acts independently of

its superior Meeting, it breaks the bond of unity which united them; it disenfranchizes itself.

Fourth. Elders are obliged by their appointment to note whether Ministers are sound in word and doctrine and behaviour. As to what constitutes soundness, there are these recognized standards: — The Spirit of Truth, the Bible, the doctrinal statement of Friends, and the fruits of the ministry in question.

Fifth. It was Liberal Friends, about to separate themselves from Arch Street, who suggested that only those who approved of the appointment on a committee to visit subordinate meetings, should be named. Also Liberal Friends, prior to the Seventh-day session, had decided to withdraw. Hence, what happened in Yearly Meeting on Seventh-day was not a *cause* of their deciding to leave.

Sixth. The Meeting for Sufferings allowed the new appointees from Southern Quarterly Meeting to attend the first session at which they presented themselves. The Meeting then appointed a committee to confer with Southern Quarter as to the constitutionality of the change in representation which they had made. Southern Quarterly Meeting listened to the committee, but refused to confer with them. When the new appointees again presented themselves, the Meeting for Sufferings requested that they withdraw, and await the decision of the Yearly Meeting, to which the Meeting for Sufferings now referred the matter.

Seventh. Samuel Bettle, the clerk, and John Comly, the assistant clerk, agreed that consideration of these requests be postponed, or returned to the Quarters. Most of the Friends who spoke expressed unity with this disposal of the matter.

Eighth. Arch Street Friends initiated the Camden

trial. Race Street Friends initiated the Trenton trial. Race Street Friends introduced a bill into the New Jersey Legislature to secure for their group a share of all property held by Orthodox Friends in New Jersey. In all three cases the decisions were in favour of the Orthodox. Meanwhile each group retained possession of the premises it occupied.

Ninth. It is difficult to visualize how institutions like Westtown School, Friends' Asylum and the Indian School at Tunesassa, N.Y., could have been shared according to proportional membership.

Tenth. The policy of disownment appears, at this distance of time, to have been a tragic mistake. Would it not have been better to have allowed individual choice of association, rather than to have depended upon Monthly Meeting decision, in determining a member's standing? Surely time would have manifested where membership lay.

ELIAS HICKS AND JONATHAN EVANS

As has been noted, Elias Hicks and Jonathan Evans were companions in visiting together in 1801. They corresponded freely in 1804, and must have been acquainted before those dates. It has been supposed that the cause of Jonathan's estrangement arose from the criticism by Elias Hicks of those who once abstained from the products of slave labour, but did so no longer. This supposition is conjecture, and lacks confirmation. Jonathan Evans clearly states that it was the *doctrines* preached by Elias Hicks which caused his uneasiness.

Having personally laboured with him, without any relief, Jonathan Evans, could no longer cordially unite with him. Yet he adds, ". . . as a man and friend

with whom I have been long acquainted, I have a sincere regard for him." This was written in 1820. Far from being a powerful enemy of Elias Hicks, as he has been represented, Jonathan was one who mourned over him, and desired his recovery.

THE MESSAGE PREACHED BY ELIAS HICKS

The claim has been made that from the beginning to the end of his ministry, Elias Hicks never altered his message, but preached the same doctrines throughout. An imposing number of witnesses testify that this was not the case. In the foregoing pages case after case is recited of those who realized how far he had travelled from his former ground.

Also Elias himself, in his 1818 letter to Phoebe Willis, confesses that he now viewed matters differently from the way in which he once viewed them. There is indeed room for a progressive unfolding of Truth, but Truth is always consistent with itself.

OUTLOOK FOR FRIENDS IN 1959

A willingness on the part of Friends to forget past differences and to forgive wrongs has made possible the reunion of separated groups in several areas. The necessity yet remains for the re-discovery by the Society of Friends as a whole, as well as by individuals, of the presence and power of the risen Christ. A true appreciation and realization of the work wrought for us by the same Christ nearly 2000 years ago, is to be recovered.

Materialism and its seductions stand in the way of true spiritual progress. Philosophy and psychology are thought by some to have superceded revelation. A simple method of living, dressing and speaking is

yet to be evolved and practiced. Witnessing for Truth needs to be revived. Outreach to other professing Friends and to those outside the Society is urgently needed. Friends have a unique, powerful and essential message to deliver. Speak to the Children of Israel that they go forward.

The quotations which follow do not apply to Liberal or to Orthodox Friends, except insofar as any of their members wandered from the Truth. Unquestionably there were faithful followers of Christ in both branches.

BUT the Lord opened to me who the greatest deceivers were and how far they might come, even such as were come as far as Balaam, who could speak the word of the Lord, who heard his voice and knew it, and knew his Spirit, and could see the star of Jacob, and the goodness of Israel's tent, (and) the second birth, which no enchantment could prevail against; these that could speak so much of their experience of God, and yet turned from the Spirit and the Word, and went into gainsaying; these were, and would be, the great deceivers, far beyond the priests.

GEORGE FOX, Journal, Edition 1952; p. 29

THE natural man loveth eloquence and many love to hear eloquent orations, and if there is not a careful attention to the gift, men who have once laboured in the pure gospel ministry, growing weary of suffering, and of appearing weak, may kindle a fire, compass themselves about with sparks, and walk in the light — not of Christ who is under suffering — but of that fire which they, going from the gift, have kindled; and that in hearers which is gone from the meek, suffering state, into worldly wisdom, may be warmed by that

fire, and speak highly of those labours. That which is of God gathers to God, and that which is of the world is owned by the world.

JOHN WOOLMAN, *Journal*, (*Gummere*), 315

WHAT shall be done to these members? Shall they be cut off? Nay, the counsel of God is not so in my heart, but let them be as near to the body as may be, that they may receive virtue from the head and come to the sense of the feeling again.

JOHN STEEL, (*concerning John Story and John Wilkinson, who had gone into a separation, in 1667*).

THE envy also of Ephraim shall depart and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off; Ephraim shall not envy Judah and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.

ISAIAH, 11:13.

(*This passage was marked by Jonathan Evans in his Bible.*)

OFF THE RECORD

DAVID BACON (1729-1809), an Elder of Southern District Monthly Meeting, lived on South Second Street, Philadelphia, at the corner of Trotter's Alley. In 1794 he accompanied three other Friends to help defend the rights of the Indians at Canandaigua, N.Y. In 1795, he accompanied Nicholas Waln on a visit to Ireland, where they had to deal with the difficult situation, caused by rationalism, which carried away many leading Irish Friends.

His home in Philadelphia was a centre of generous hospitality. He delighted in Friends' company, and used to remark, "Horned cattle require much room, but sheep may be contentedly in a small space." He smoked a long pipe. His daughter, Elizabeth married Thomas Scattergood, and Hannah married Jonathan Evans.

NICHOLAS WALN (1742-1813), at one time a successful lawyer, relinquished that profession and became a "plain" Friend, and minister. After he had made a change in his dress, an errand called him into court, where he was well known. A lawyer, wishing to make sport of him remarked, "Mr. Waln, there is a great deal of dignity and intelligence under that hat of yours." Nicholas, removing his hat and handing it to the lawyer, replied, "Take it. . . . Thou has need of both."

Nicholas was of great assistance to Friends when their tenured property was several times disputed in court. Nicholas inquired of one of the Free Quakers

why he had taken up arms. The reply was, "I took up arms to defend my honor, my property and my liberty." . . . "Passing by thy honor," said Nicholas, "I understand that thou hast no property, and enjoys thy liberty only through the clemency of thy creditors."

William Evans, son of Jonathan, was passing the Second Street home of Nicholas Waln, when Nicholas called to him and said, "Take these pipes to thy father. He will want them for Yearly Meeting."

On a day of great summer heat Nicholas Waln attended the meeting for worship at Birmingham, Pennsylvania, and was placed at the head of the meeting. In those days meetings often lasted from an hour and a half to two hours. On this occasion Nicholas closed the meeting at the expiration of a half-hour, remarking to the Friend next to him, "I will have mercy, and not burnt offerings."

Noticing that the wood was disappearing from a pile in his back yard, Nicholas investigated and learned that a neighbor was helping himself to it. Nicholas ordered a load of wood to be sent to the neighbor, with his good wishes. When the neighbor in feigned anger demanded an explanation, Nicholas said, "Neighbor, I did not wish thee to be hurt, falling off my woodpile."

It happened one day that smoke was issuing from the front door of Jonathan Evans' home, 102 Union Street, and Hannah Evans was reproving a maid for some misconduct, when Nicholas entered. He remarked,

"A smoking chimney and a scolding wife

Are the two plagues of a man's life."

MILDRED RATCLIFF (1773-1847) joined the Baptists, and disliked the Quakers. Happening to meet with a copy of John Woolman's Journal, she eyed it contemptuously,

and thought to herself, "What can a Quaker say?" The reading of it, however, impressed her profoundly. She ultimately became a Friend, and a minister. She visited and corresponded with Jonathan Evans. She smoked a pipe, as older women Friends often did. Of this habit a dream cured her. She thought in her dreams that at the heavenly gate an angel looked over the book of life, in search of her name. He reported, "I cannot find it." In agony she pled, "Oh! please look again! I am sure it must be there." The angel did look again, and then said, "Well, it is there, but so covered up with smoke that I could hardly find it."

At one of the sittings of New York Yearly Meeting, in 1838, the subject of slavery being introduced into the women's meeting, a great excitement was soon manifested in many, with much heat of manner, and warmth of expression. The solemnity of the meeting was being rapidly dissipated, and two or three persons were speaking at once, when Mildred interrupted them, exclaiming in a loud voice, "Peter's wife's mother lay sick of a fever." The singularity of the Scripture quotation, and the loud voice in which it was delivered, instantly brought all the meeting into silence; and then Mildred added, "But when the Master laid his cooling hand upon her, immediately the fever left her." All excitement ceased, and the anti-slavery contention for that year was at an end.

WILLIAM EVANS (1787-1867) was the eldest son of Jonathan. He was a lively boy and once escaped and ran in his nightgown from his home in Union Street to his grandfather's at South Second Street and Trotter's Alley. He grew up to be a tall, serious, conscientious man, and so grave that a bet was once

made, he could not be made to laugh. Accordingly the parties repaired to his drug store, on Front Street and while William Evans was wrapping up a purchase, an amusing story was told. William Evans laid down the package, and leaning against the counter, laughed heartily. So that bet was lost.

He served as assistant clerk and clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Arch Street, for thirty-three years. For fifty years he was a member of the Westtown Committee. He parted with the Pennsylvania Railroad shares he owned, at the outbreak of the Civil War, because that Company was obligated by charter to carry troops free of charge.

His ministry was very emphatic and arresting. A nervous little girl once said, "Mother! he is scolding us!" He often delayed speaking till near the end of the meeting. The meeting at Concord, Pennsylvania, had sat long, when David Cope said in a loud whisper, "Dinner horns blowing, and nothing doing." A child at Elklands Meeting, Pennsylvania, had bitten eyes, nose and mouth in a buckwheat cake and placed the mask over his face. William Evans, who was speaking, just managed to continue.

Bound on a religious visit, Joseph Elkinton and William Evans drove a two-horse carriage from Philadelphia to the state of Iowa in 1851. On their return journey, becoming weary of that method of travel, at Richmond, Indiana, they sold horses and vehicle to a man going west. The horses were recognized at a livery stable as those belonging to the two Friends. Accordingly the man was arrested for having stolen the Quakers' horses. Nor was he released till word came from the east that he had acquired them by honest purchase.



DAVID BACON, 1729-1809
Elder, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. *From print loaned by
Margaret R. Williams.*



NICHOLAS WALN, 1742-1813
Minister, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. *Historical Collection,
Haverford College.*



JOHN COX OF BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY, 1754-1847
Minister, Clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. *Historical
Library, Swarthmore College.*



RICHARD JORDAN, 1756-1826
Minister, Camden, New Jersey. *From drawing by Richard Smith.
Treasure Room, Library, Haverford College.*



MOSES BROWN, 1738-1836
Manufacturer, Merchant, Providence, Rhode Island.



ELIAS HICKS, 1748-1830
Minister, Jericho, Long Island, New York.
Haverford College Library.



My Fr. John Comly

JOHN COMLY, 1773-1850
Schoolmaster, Minister, Assistant Clerk, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting 1827. *Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College.*



EDWARD HICKS, 1780-1849
Quaker minister and primitive painter.

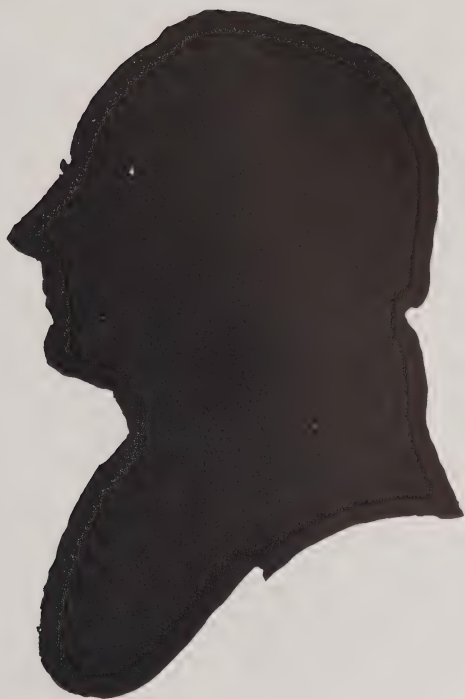


DOCTOR NATHAN SHOEMAKER, 1788-1868

Minister, see letter of Elias Hicks to Nathan Shoemaker. *Foster's Report*, Vol. 2, P. 422, *Genealogy of the Shoemaker Family*, P. 122.



THOMAS SHILLITOE, 1754-1836
Minister, visited U.S.A., 1826-1829. Tottenham, London, England.



GEORGE WITHY, 1763-1837
Minister, visited U.S.A. *From silhouette in Library, Society of
Friends, London, England.*



ELIZABETH ROBSON, 1771-1843
Minister, visited U.S.A. *From silhouette in Library, Society of
Friends, London, England.*



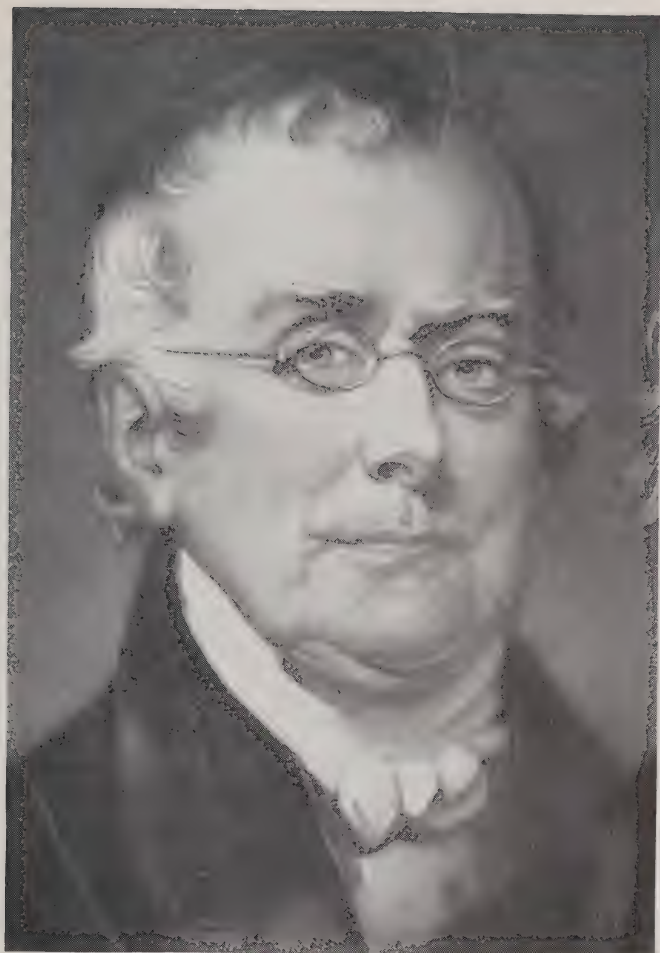
ANNA BRAITHWAITE 1788-1859

Minister, mother of J. Bevan Braithwaite, visited America, 1823-24, 1825, 1827. *Memoirs of Anna Braithwaite*, 1905.



DANIEL WHEELER, 1771-1840

Enlisted as soldier. Became a Friend and a minister. From 1816 to 1830 superintended draining marshes in Russia. From 1833 till 1838 made a voyage in a small vessel to Australia and the South Pacific. In 1839 he came to the United States. Died in New York, 1840.



THOMAS PYM COPE, 1768-1854
Merchant, Philadelphia. *Treasure Room, Haverford College
Library.*



Stephen Grellet

STEPHEN GRELLET, 1773-1855

Scion of French nobility, minister, Burlington, New Jersey.



CHRISTOPHER HEALY, 1773-1851

Minister, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. *Friends' Historical Library,*
Swarthmore College.



WILLIAM EVANS, 1787-1867

Minister, eldest son of Jonathan and Hannah (Bacon) Evans.
*Silhouette made by Hannah Evans, 1827-1902. Treasure Room,
Haverford College Library.*



THOMAS EVANS, 1798-1868

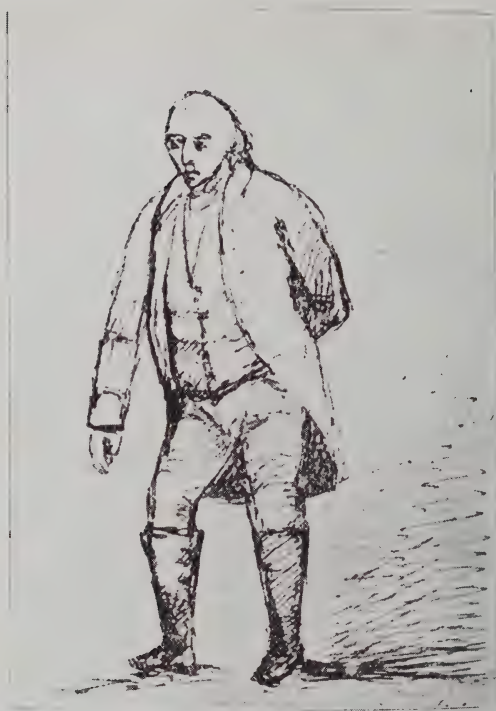
Minister, son of Jonathan & Hannah (Bacon) Evans. *From daguerreotype, Treasure Room, Haverford College Library.*



CHARLES EVANS, M.D., 1802-1879
Elder, youngest son of Jonathan and Hannah (Bacon) Evans.
Treasure Room, Haverford College Library.



JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, 1788-1847
Minister. *Historical Collection at Haverford College.*



JOHN WILBUR, OF NEW ENGLAND
(1774-1856)

Reproduced by favour of J. Ernest Grubb

Drawn by Henry Jacob, of Clonmel, born 1835, son of Henry and Lucy (Bowley) Jacob. He lived in India and Africa, and in U.S.A., where he died in 1905.

According to his *Journal*, Wilbur was at Clonmel, 19 to 22 Jan., 1864, aged 70½. Probably the sketch was made at this time.

JOHN WILBUR, 1774-1856
Minister. *Treasure Room, Haverford College Library.*



MILDRED RATCLIFF, 1773-1847
Minister, Correspondent of Jonathan Evans. *Historical Collection
at Haverford College.*

Whereas

John Biddle
Groom

Samuel Emlen
Bride

Nicholas Emlen
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MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF JONATHAN AND HANNAH EVANS, 1786

Note signatures of: James Pemberton, Samuel Emlen, Nicholas Wahn, Owen Biddle, Arthur Howell, Daniel Offley, John Townsend, and William Savery. From copy loaned by Margaret R. Williams, Haverford, Pa.



HOUSE BUILT 1786 BY JONATHAN EVANS
Number 102 Union Street, Philadelphia, now 322 Delancey Street,
here he lived and died, 1787-1839. Still standing.

Calumny refuted - defending Anna
Braithwaite -

Letters and observations respecting the
doctrines of Elias Hicks -

Review of Elias Hicks's letter to Doctor
Nathan Shoemaker.

Review of Elias Hicks's letter to Thos
Willis.

Letter to Elias Hicks. from Phil^a. recorder

Seven letters to Elias Hicks by a
Demi-Quaker

Letter from Anna Braithwaite to Elias
Hicks - with appendix.

Letter from Luke Howard to a friend
in America -

Letter from Mary Peasley to
William Brown - 1752



HAND-WRITING AND BOOK-PLATE OF JONATHAN EVANS,
1759-1839
Haverford College Library 7714 C16



THOMAS STRETCH CLOCK, CIRCA 1725

Owned by Jonathan Evans, 1759-1839. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 1932, Vol. 56, P. 228.



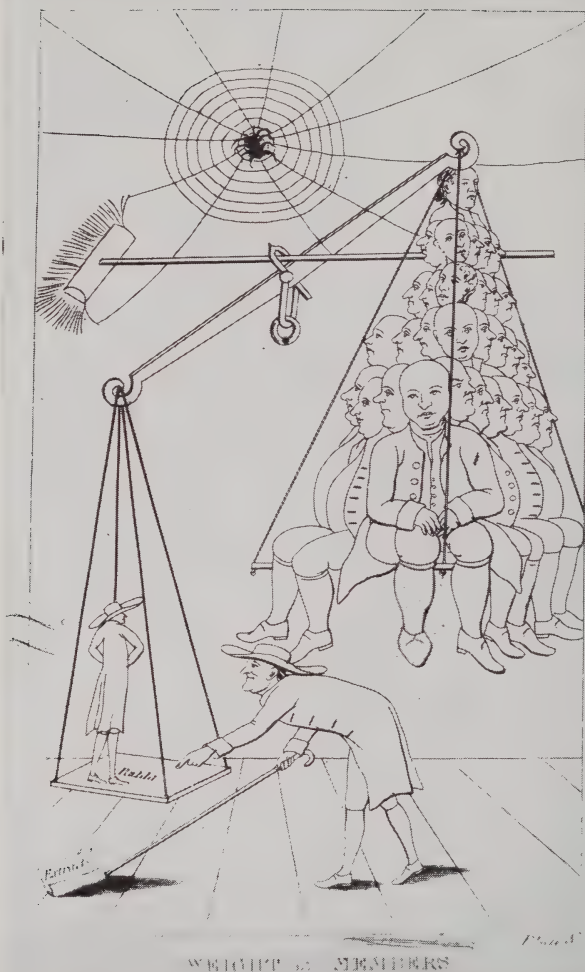
CARICATURE OF SAMUEL BETTLE, 1774-1861
Minister, Clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. *From a pamphlet*
"Hole in the Wall." 1828



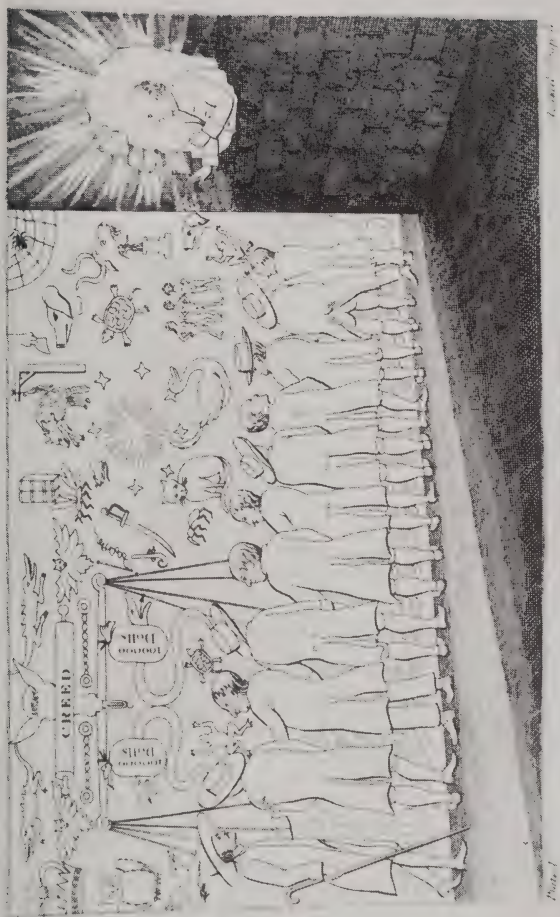
TICKET MANUFACTORY

CARICATURE OF JONATHAN EVANS

From anonymous pamphlet, "Hole in the Wall", 1828.



SAMUEL BETTLES, POINTING TO "EXTRACTS"
 John Comly, at top of opposite figures. From anonymous
 pamphlet, "Hole in the Wall", 1828.



PROPHETIC VISION

ELIAS HICKS AND THE ELEVEN ELDERS
 From anonymous pamphlet, "Hole in the Wall", 1828.



REUNION OF DESCENDANTS OF JONATHAN EVANS, — 22nd OF NINTH MONTH 1928.
Springfield Meeting House, near Media, Pennsylvania. *Historical Collection, Haverford College, Pennsylvania.*

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



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